



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

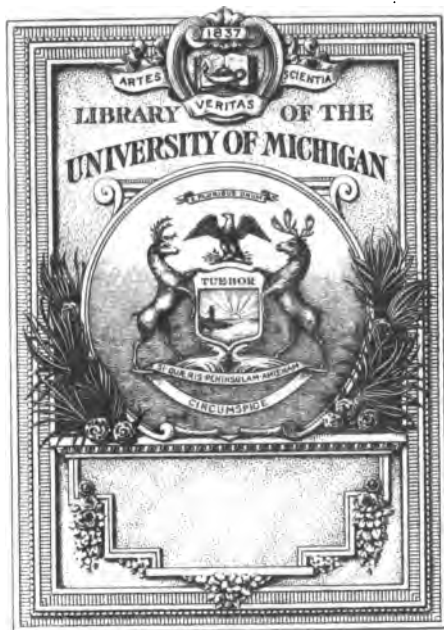
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

B

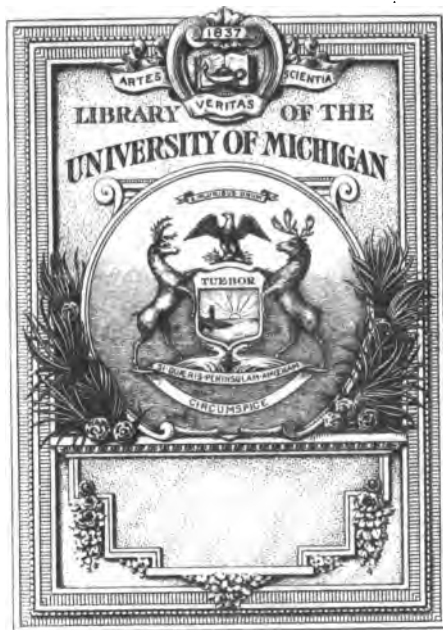
877,037



William Crocker  
1909

G1  
63  
I4  
N18





William Croche  
1909

G1  
63  
I4  
N18



(Preliminary Issue.)

589 Bl cl  
bind in covers

The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.

---

I. <sup>22</sup>  
5-9-06

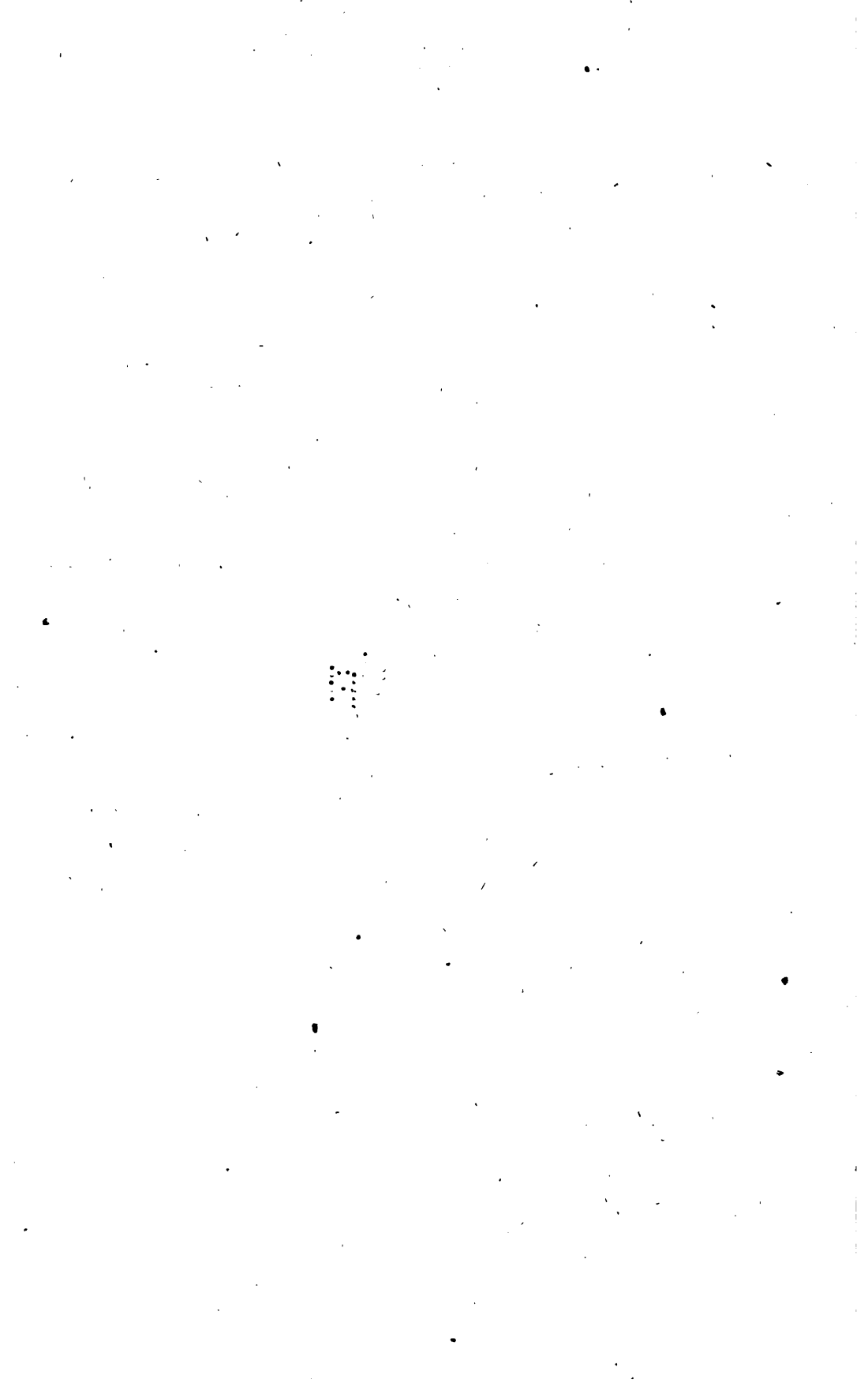
KURUBA CASTE.

*Spanner*, 1860 —  
BY  
H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.

---

BANGALORE:  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS  
1906. —

Price 8 Annas.



(Preliminary Issue.)

589 Bl cl  
M. L. S. 1860

# The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.

---

I. <sup>22</sup>  
5-9-06

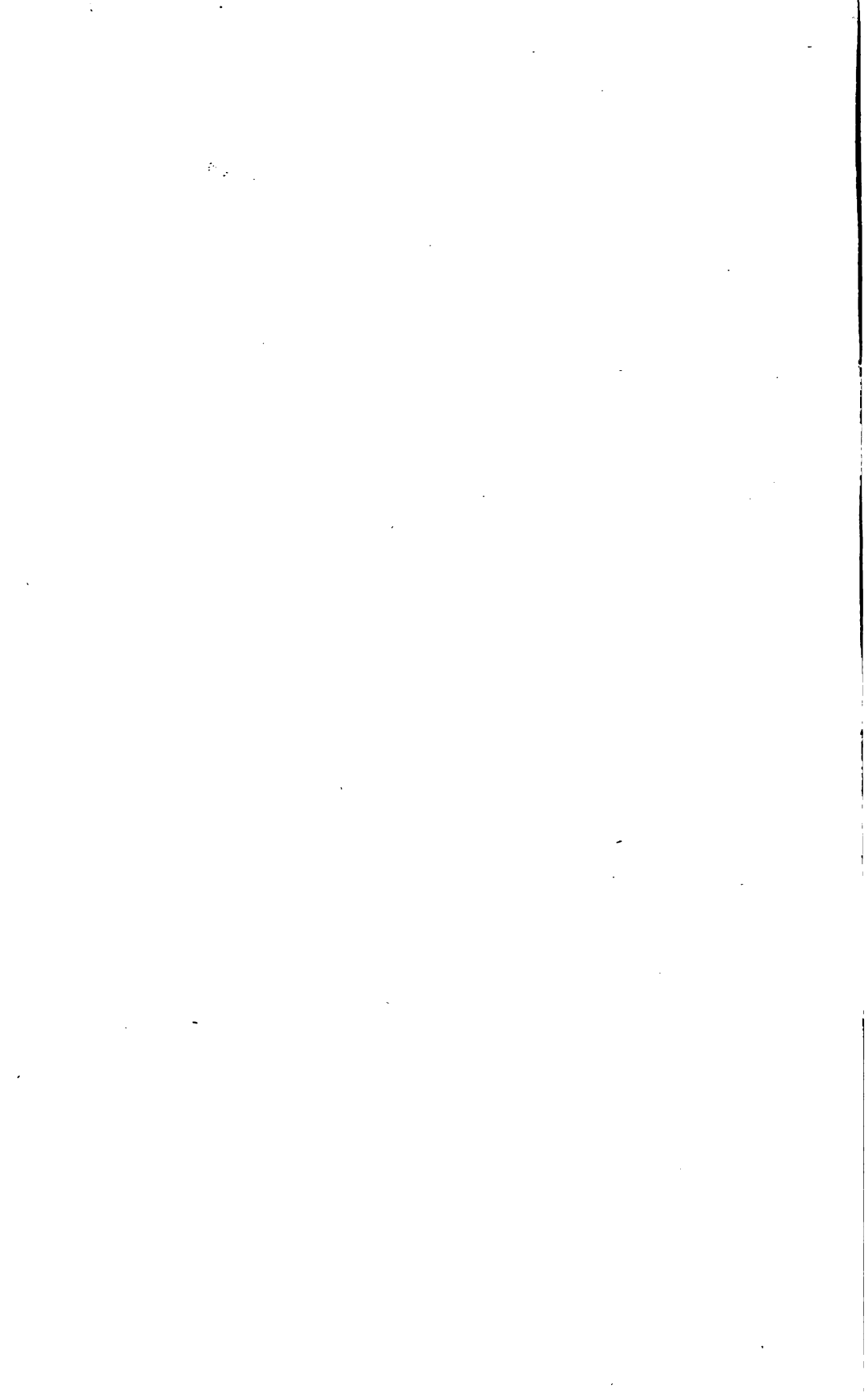
## KURUBA CASTE.

1860 —  
BY  
H. V. <sup>of Kanuru</sup> NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.

---

BANGALORE:  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS  
1906.

Price 8 Annas.



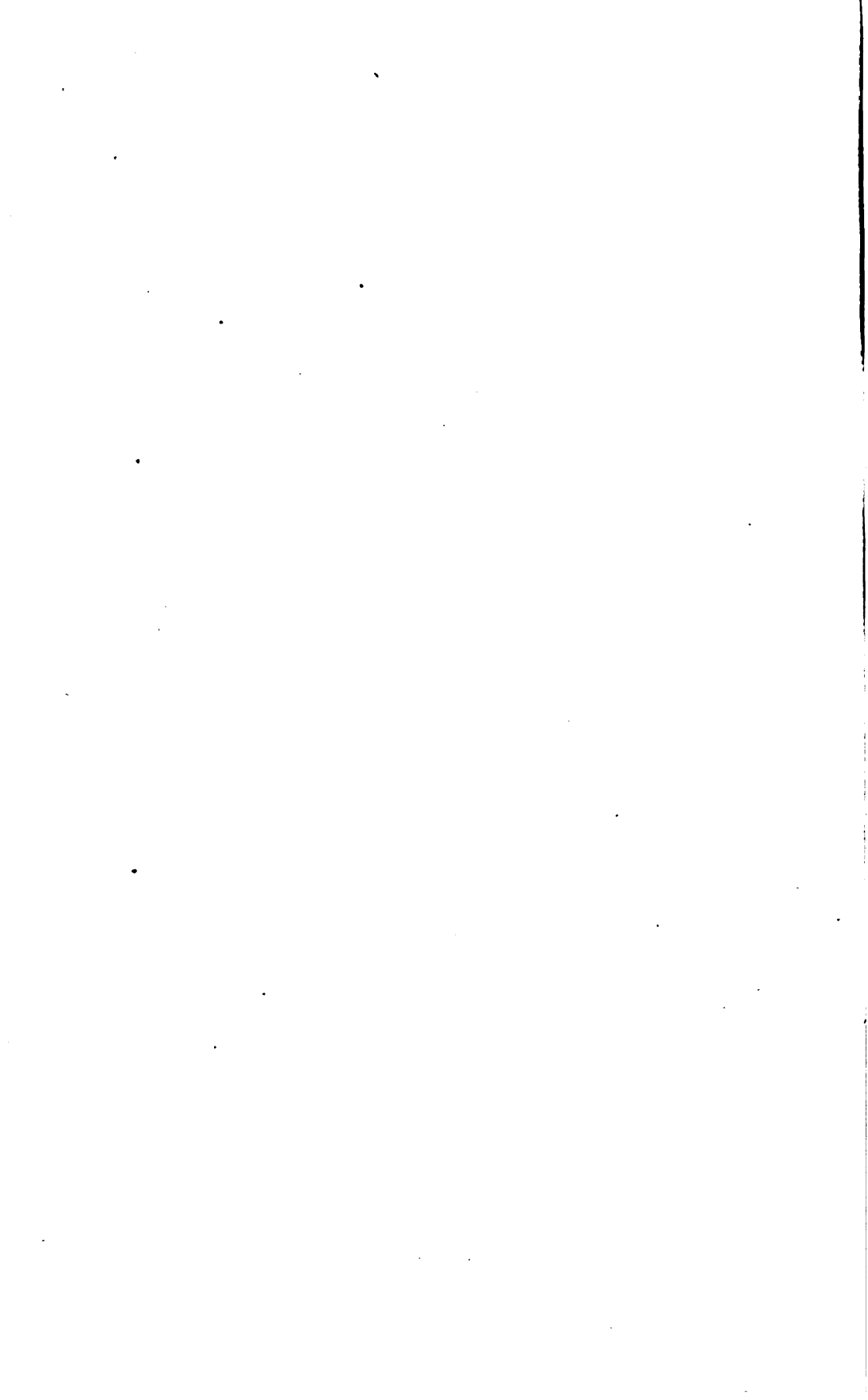
# CONTENTS.

---

	PAGE.
Name	1
Origin	2
Divisions	4
Birth and name-giving	5
Marriage relations	7
Dedication of girls	8
Puberty	8
Age of marriage	9
Sexual relations	9
Marriage ceremonies	10
Widow marriage	13
Divorce	13
Death	13
Social status	15
Inheritance	15
Religion	17
Religious orders	18
Occupation	19
General	21
Appendix (List of <i>Kulas</i> or <i>Septs</i> )	22—24

---





## HOLEYAS.

The Holeyas (ಹೊಲೆಯರು) numbering about five and a half lakhs and forming a tenth of the total population, are found all over the State of Mysore. Bangalore, Mysore, Kadur, and Hassan Districts show larger figures than other districts. Names.

These are an outcaste race, *Pariah* and *Mala* being their appellation in Tamil and Telugu. The term *Holeya* may be derived from 'hola' a field, *Holeya* meaning thence a field-labourer. But it more probably comes from 'Hole' which means pollution, since they are regarded as of unclean habits in eating and drinking. The men of this caste are sometimes styled by their official designation, as *Chalavadi* who is a convener of a meeting of 18-*Phana* party, carrying a brass cup and chain as insignia, and *Kularadi* or one who calls the villagers before the patel and the Revenue officers generally. As in most places these offices are held by them, the names are used to denote the caste generally.

The members use among themselves the term *Balagai* as they are classed among the eighteen castes that form the right hand section of the community in Dravida countries, as against the nine castes of the left hand division. This being a common appellation to them and other and higher castes, they naturally use it as being the most respectable designation to apply to themselves. *Panchama*, *Anthyaaja* and *Chandala* are the terms the Brahmans employ in naming them, and denote a mild form of contempt. *Panchama*, Sanskrit term means 'of the fifth caste,' the first four castes being—Brahma, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra. *Anthyaaja* means 'born at the end' of the social scale. *Chandala* means one who indulges in cruel deeds, the term being applied by Manu to one born to a Sudra on a Brahman woman. Among other Sanskrit terms applied to these may be mentioned 'Matanga,' a descendant of Matangi.

There are no recognized titles for this caste, the members addressing each other by their bare names.

In Mysore they generally speak Kannada, 'Tamil, Telugu and Mahratti being used by small sections of them according to the place of their origin.

Origin.

The origin of this caste is, according to one legend, traced to one Honnayya, whose shrines are still honoured with fruit offerings. It was this way. During a procession when this chief was riding on an elephant, the motley crowd that went with him entered a temple which was in their way. But the elephant could not enter the low portals of the building, and Honnayya and his immediate followers were left outside. Those that went in were the four recognized castes, and Honnayya's men thereafter altogether lost the privilege of going inside the temples.

A second tradition gives the origin of the term *Balagai*. Siva and Parvati employed a servant to tend their cow. This man one day found that the goddess had negligently left the butter that had been churned out of the milk, within his reach, and discovered its exquisite taste. So in his foolish greed he thought that there was an unlimited quantity of it in the animal's stomach and killed it on the spot. He was condemned by Isvara to eat the carcass as a punishment; but the fellow found it too much to manage. So he implored the god, who created two others (Madigas and Bedars), to go to his help. Siva after this went back into his temple; the Beda at once followed his maker; but the other two preferred their carrion and remained outside devouring it. They were condemned to be outcastes, and became left hand and right hand according to the position they had taken in relation to the temple door.

Another story is told to show that they have some sort of relationship with Agasas or washermen. It is said that a Holey boy fled at the sight of Visvakarma (a rival creator to the original *Brahma*) and took refuge under the washing tub of an Agasa. The latter, to justify his giving the boy an asylum against the pursuit of such a mighty personage, claimed the boy as his son and ate his rice out of the same plate with him. It is difficult to make out the significance of this silly story. But it may be noted that though Agasas do not condescend to act as torch-bearers during the marriages of Holeyas, the latter borrow a torch from Agasas appealing to them for help, "since Holeyas are the children of Agasas."

They even claim some sort of relationship with Brahmins, inasmuch as Arundhati, wife of Vasishta who is considered a paragon of chaste women for all time, is said to have been a damsel of Chandala origin. The Holeyas sing songs in praise of this woman when they sacrifice buffaloes before their goddess Mari.

Whatever the inner meaning of these legends may be, there is no evidence that they have any other origin than the whimsical fancy of some persons, who were either more partial or wished to be more generous than usual to a caste which was largely treated as low in the social scale. Little more weight, it is to be feared, can be ascribed to the observations\* about the original status of a *Kulavadi* who is erroneously assumed to be always a *Holeya*, in some authorized publications such as the Mysore Gazetteer. It is sought to prove that the *Holeya* was the owner of the soil and the founder of villages. But the evidence adduced is shadowy. It is nowhere admitted that the *Holeya* was the *de-jure* owner of a village; and elaborate rules are given in *Manu Smriti* and other recognized books to decide boundary disputes in which the *Kulavadi's* claim to settle the matter by his admission or other testimony is not even mentioned. Nor is the conclusion legitimate from the fact that in many places, a *Kulavadi* gets a small coin (called *nela-haga* or soil money), for the soil under which a dead body is interred. It may equally well be held that the *Holeya* who has no abode within the main village, was considered as having some sort of title to all the land outside its limits. The right of *puja* of the village goddess, residing generally in this caste, goes only to show that this worship was not part of the true Aryan practices, and that the Hindu with his well-known toleration adapted himself to surrounding circumstances, by recognizing the primitive faiths and religious practices to some extent. This right of worship can give no precedence to a *Holeya* over a Brahman and is allowed to continue undisturbed, especially as no one of a higher caste would consent to kill such animals as are sacrificed to the village deity. The *kulavadi* shaving his head on the occasion of a death in a *gauda's* family is more a sign that he was considered a helot than a member belonging to the family. *h/*

---

\* "In the rights and privileges which yet cling to him we get glimpses of his former estate, and find proofs that the Holeyas were the first to establish villages. All the castes unhesitatingly admit that the *Kulavadi* is (*de jure*) the owner of the village. If there is a dispute as to the village boundaries, the *Kulavadi* is the only one competent to

Thus the Gangadikara Holeyas call themselves the *Hale-makkalu* (house servants or slaves) of Gangadikara Vakkaligas. These *Hale-makkalu* have to render certain menial services to the Vakkaligas such as carrying the sandals of the bridegroom, conveying messages from place to place, and in the funeral ceremonies carrying fire in front of the dead body to the burial ground.

Morasu Holeyas similarly consider themselves as the *Hale-makkalu* of the Morasu and Reddi Vakkaligas. They observe the festivals of *Bandi-devaru* and *Hosa-devaru* that are observed by the Morasu and Reddi Vakkaligas. They have also to render special services such as carrying the box containing the presents made by the bridegroom to the bride in a marriage, carrying the dead body of their masters on one side and holding a torch in the processions of idols of village deities, at least in front of their master who carries other lights. In return, these *Hale-makkalu* are fed by their superiors in the annual festivals, and get occasional presents of a bull calf or cloth or a vessel. They eat the food given to the departed spirit of a dead man on the third day after death.

#### Divisions.

The caste has a number of sub-divisions, the principle of division being language, profession or place of residence or two or more combined ; and these groups are all said to be endogamous.

Kannada-speaking divisions are *Gangadikara*, *Morasu*, *Dasa*, 'Magga' men (weaver) and 'Hagga' men (rope-makers).

---

take an oath as to how the boundary ought to run, and to this day a village boundary dispute is often decided by this one fact— if the Kulavadis agree, the other inhabitants of the village can say no more." (Mysore Gazetteer, Vol I, p. 216). "But one of this despised order is generally the priest to the village goddess, and as such, on that annual day when all hasten to pay their offerings at her shrine, takes precedence of the twice born Brahman." (Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 215.)

"But what seems to prove strongly that the Holeyas were the first to take possession of the soil is that the Kulavadi receives and is entitled to receive from the friends of any person who dies in the village a certain burial fee or as it is focibly put—'they buy from him the ground for the dead.' This fee is still called in Canarese *nela-haga*. In Manjarabad, the ancient Balam, the Kulavadi does not receive this fee from those raiyats who are related to the headman. Here the Kulavadi occupies a higher position ; he has in fact been adopted into the Patel's family, for on a death occurring in such family the Kulavadi goes into mourning by shaving his head. He always receives from the friends, the cloths the deceased wore and a brass basin." Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 216).

The Telugu groups are *Telugu Pakinati, Chintalu, Gundlujagati, Rampalu, Pasupa Sere* and *Savu*.

*Konga, Dyaval, Mastikaru, Gogla, and Kudure* are of Tamil origin.

A small number of Mahratti-speaking Holeyas are found scattered over the country on the borders of the Bombay Presidency.

Tamil Holeyas take food in the houses of Kannada and Telugu sections, while the latter do not return the compliment, regarding the Tamil Holeyas as inferior in origin. The Gangadikara Holeyas are regarded as the highest in rank. They do not eat in the houses of even other Kannada Holeyas, but also purify metal vessels touched by them before use and throw away earthen pots so polluted.

They have a number of exogamous divisions, all of which descend in the male line only; and the members of each division regard themselves as belonging to one family. The names of these divisions or *Kulas*, will be found in the Appendix.

If the name denotes an edible plant, grain, etc., those bearing it refrain from eating the article. If it is a tree, they show their reverence by not burning or felling it. It is even reported that when a man of the *Naggaligaru* division is pierced by a thorn of the plant, he is prohibited from pulling off the thorn himself. One not of that division should help him out of the difficulty.

Those who perform the worship of their gods, are known as *Devaraguddas*, a name which is also applied to *Pujaris* of some other castes, and it is said that their relation to others of the caste is hypergamous, i.e., males may marry women who are not of this sub-division but their women cannot marry any one of a lower rank. It is, however, doubtful if this distinction is rigidly observed.

To ensure the safe delivery of a child, some elderly man with a reputation for magic, gives some oil which is administered to the mother. Birth and name-giving.

Arrack is taken to allay pains in the belly after delivery. A *mantrasani* (lit. a witch) or midwife cuts the navel cord and attends on the mother. The severed navel cord is tied to the cradle to act as a charm. The mother lives for

nine days on rice only. Musk and *Gorochanam* \* are given internally to both the mother and the child.

\* The name-giving takes place on the 10th day, when the father purifies himself with a shave and the mother is bathed. Among the Dasa section, the parents sit down together with the child for the ceremony. Their *guru*, who is a Satani, brands the child with the symbols of Vishnu and marks on the forehead of the child a *tilaka* or a perpendicular white line. If the *guru* is not available on the 10th day, the ceremony will be observed on the last day of the month.

Among some people, children are named during the annual festival of their family deity.

The names of local and tribal deities are, as usual, most generally given to men and women. The following may, however, be mentioned as characteristic of the caste, being specially such as are rarely used by other castes:—

## MEN.

<i>Daita</i>	ದೈತ.
<i>Hindi</i>	ಹಿಂದಿ.
<i>Laguma</i>	ಲಗುಮ
<i>Sittiga</i>	ಸಿಟ್ಟಿಗೆ.
<i>Goriga</i>	ಗೋರಿಗೆ
<i>Bogya</i>	ಬೋಗ್ಯ
<i>Jodiga</i>	ಜೋಡಿಗ.

<i>Haligeyatruga</i>	ಹಲಿಗೆಯಾತ್ರಗ
<i>Koniga</i>	ಕೋಣಿಗೆ
<i>Bolaga</i>	ಬೋಳಿಗೆ
<i>Pateliga</i>	ಪಟೇಲಿಗೆ
<i>Jaganiga</i>	ಜಾಗಣಿಗೆ
<i>Pavadiga</i>	ಪಾವಡಿಗ
<i>Navaniga</i>	ನವಣಿಗೆ

## WOMEN.

<i>Yalagi</i>	ಯಾಲಗಿ
<i>Baiyi</i>	ಬೈಯಿ
<i>Toni</i>	ತಾನಿ
<i>Anki</i>	ಅಂಕಿ
<i>Nyati</i>	ನ್ಯಾತಿ
<i>Peti</i>	ಪೆಟಿ
<i>Velli</i>	ವೆಲ್ಯಿ
<i>Sooli</i>	ಸೂಲಿ
<i>Guni</i>	ಗುಣಿ
<i>Sadi</i>	ಸಾದಿ
<i>Konchi</i>	ಕೋಂಚಿ

<i>Kati</i>	ಕಾಟಿ
<i>Arasi</i>	ಆರಸಿ
<i>Sandi</i>	ಸಂದಿ
<i>Bandi</i>	ಬಂದಿ
<i>Mudi</i>	ಮುಡಿ
<i>Salyamma</i>	ಸಾಲ್ಯಮ್ಮ
<i>Bisakka</i>	ಬಿಸಕ್ಕ
<i>Balakka</i>	ಬಾಲಕ್ಕ
<i>Kaki</i>	ಕಾಕಿ
<i>Busi</i>	ಬುಸಿ
<i>Peritayi</i>	ಪೆರಿತಾಯಿ

Haida (ಹೈದ) boy, Mari (ಮರಿ) child, Kusu (ಕೂಸು) child, Amniayya (ಅಮ್ಮಾಯ್ಯ) mother, Akka (ಅಕ್ಕ) sister, Tangi

\* A bright yellow pigment prepared from the urine or bile of a cow or vomited by a cow in the form of scybala, or found in the head of that animal.—Dr. F. Kittel.

(ತೆಂ) younger sister, and Avva (ಅವ್ವ) mother, are names of endearment.

A child born after the death of a few brothers and sisters is given an opprobrious name such as Tippa (ತಿಪ್ಪ) meaning rubbish, Javaraya (ಜವರಾಯ) god of death, and Sudugadu (ಸುಡುಗಾಡು) cremation ground.

A child thus protected with the opprobrious name, is taken to the shrine of the patron deity, where the parents fulfil their vows, bore a hole in the nose and fit metallic rings into it in the name of Dharmaraya, the god of death.

They have no custom of giving more than one name.

Adoption is practised by a few of the sections and the practice is more prevalent in the Malnad tracts, where brother's sons are preferred to be taken in adoption. In no case is a younger brother adopted. In the rest of the area, adoption is seldom in vogue. Sister's sons and wife's sister's sons are brought up as foster sons, but are not affiliated to the new family. Their status for marriage remains exactly as it was before.

The endogamous divisions have been already named. Marriage relations. Within these limits and outside the exogamous *kulas*, the rules of prohibited and allowed degrees are as follows. One may not marry one's mother's sister or the daughter of such relation. As a rule, an elder sister's daughter or a paternal aunt's or a maternal uncle's daughter, is taken in marriage. A younger sister's daughter is not taken ordinarily, but if no wife can be found elsewhere, the objection is overruled. Two sisters might be taken in marriage simultaneously by one or two brothers, but the former custom is not recommended, as it is believed that one of the sisters so married fares badly. It is allowable among them to exchange daughters, each marrying his son to the other's daughter. There are no prohibitions on inter-marriage based upon social status, local position, and change or differences of occupation. They may intermarry even if the parties are of different religious sects such as *Dasas* and *Saivas*. The wife, as a matter of course, joins the husband's sect. A woman that dedicates herself as *Devaraguādi* with the ceremonies of the tying of wrist band and the worship of *Kalasa*, cannot marry.

Holeyā girls are married either before or after puberty. If a girl remains unmarried from the absence of suitors,



she is married to trees *Honge* (*Pargamia Glabra*), *Bevu* (Neem or *Margosa*), *Yekke* (*Calotropis Gigantea*) and dedicated to shrines, like those of Biligiri Ranga or Siddappaji. She may then live with any man of the caste without loss of status. She is known as *Kulamaga*, son of the family, and inherits the rights and privileges of a son and discharges the son's duties by performing the funeral ceremonies and attending to obsequies in respect of her parents. Her children belong to her father and are legitimate.

J Dedication  
of girls.

In a few cases, a father may wish in fulfilling a vow, to dedicate his daughter to the patron deity. The vow might have been made to free his daughter from an attack of illness or make sure that the child may be spared to him.

On a lucky day, the girl newly bathed and decently attired, is taken to the temple of her patron deity which is generally situated in the *Holageri*. (Holeyas quarters). She there sits with a dagger by her side facing the goddess. The priest ties round her neck a disk, selected out of a number of such hanging on the idol. This is followed by a caste dinner. The girl remains in the temple for a day, and thenceforward she may associate with any man of the caste or of higher castes, or can permanently live in concubinage with any of her caste, her paramour visiting her in her house. Children born of such connections are legitimate, and are accorded the same consideration as those of married parents.

This custom of dedicating girls to gods is not in vogue among the Gangadikar and Morasu Holeyas, but is general among the rest. In a few families, it is a custom to have always one of their daughters so dedicated; and a council of allied families see to it that there is one such at least among them every year. A girl thus dedicated is considered the living representative of the goddess, and has certain special privileges, such as leading the procession of the goddess, with a torch in her hand.

Puberty.

When a girl is married, she is not sent to her husband's house immediately after the marriage but continues to live with her parents, until the marriage is consummated, after attainment of puberty. When a girl reaches this age, she is kept aloof in a new shed formed for the purpose with green *Lakkali* leaves. She remains in the shed for a period of three to seven days, when she is supposed to be in a state of pollution, which is observed with even more

strictness than in the higher castes. The washerwoman of the caste, supplies her with washed clothes; and she can enter the temple or her ordinary dwelling only after a bath on the 5th or the 7th day.

On the evening of that day, she makes *puja* before a "*Kalasa*," representing the patron deity, and a general dinner is given by her parents. For a period of sixteen days, they give her rich food consisting of jaggory, nuts, ghee and pulses. Most of the expense incurred for the ceremonies on this occasion, is borne by her husband if she is already married. If the girl is not married, the expenses are paid up with the bride price in marriage, the latter custom being specially prevalent in some of the Malnad tracts, especially in Hassan and Arkalgud Taluks. On the 12th day she becomes pure according to one account. A few of the caste follow a different custom. On the day the girl bathes after puberty, she worships the sacred peepul tree and embraces it afterwards.

If she is already married, the news of her attaining the age is carried by her brother to her husband, who in recompense, gives him a good entertainment. At the consummation of marriage, which generally takes place on the 16th day of her attaining age of puberty, the couple are seated on a plank, and married women wave *Arati* over them and mark their foreheads with the blood of a sheep. She is presented with rice, fruits, etc., placed in her garment. The husband and her father both present her with a new cloth. The ceremony ends with a feast. The next day the girl is taken away by her husband to his house.

Marriage of infant girls is, as usual, considered a mark of superiority and it is claimed that they have always been partial to it in this caste. Age of marriage.

A boy is generally married between sixteen and twenty. There is no recognized custom of courting; and generally the marriages are arranged by the elders.

Sexual license before marriage is connived at or tolerated to some extent. If a young woman remains unmarried in her father's house, she may entertain casual visitors, and if she forms a permanent connection thus, the man may tie a *tali* to her. The bride price for such a marriage is Rs. 12. The issue of such relation is legitimate even if it were born before the tying of the *tali*. Sexual relations.

In some places, an unmarried girl might with impunity live with any man of the same caste, but if she has become pregnant she has not only to marry her lover (unless he rejects her), but has to pay to the caste a fine of Rs. 8. The head of the caste has power to levy a fine from the man also, who if he declines to marry the frail woman, will be ostracized by the community. The woman is then at liberty to take another man, and the man who has betrayed her has to compensate her by paying Rs. 25 and giving her a suit of clothes.

If the woman fails to point out her lover, she will be put out of caste. In all such cases the head of the caste is anxious to see that all children born in the caste are legitimised and their parentage established. The habit of capturing wives from other tribes does not prevail, but they have traditions regarding such a practice.

Among Morasu and Gangadikar sections, the woman loses her caste in case she becomes pregnant before marriage. The odium remains even after her death; and to ensure a proper burial of her body, such a woman sets apart a sum of money, about Rs. 12 during her life.

A man who elopes with a woman, can marry her after paying Rs. 5 to the caste and a bride price of Rs. 50 to her parents or brothers.

Monogamous marriage is the rule, as the men are hardly able to maintain more than one wife. Polygamy is however recognized, but polyandry is unknown.

#### Marriage ceremonies.

Some days before the marriage, there is an agreement of giving and taking between the parties, symbolised by exchange of betel-leaves and arecanuts. This ceremony, which however is not essential, is known as Vilyasastra (Betel ceremony).

A marriage pandal is put up on 12 posts, of which one in the middle known as *Halu Kamba*, or milk post, has been cut by the maternal uncle of the boy. A branch of the Jambolana tree is tied to this post. In the afternoon of the day, they keep apart new cloths, dedicated in the name of the deceased ancestors; in the evening, the bride's party with the bride, arrive at the village of the bridegroom. They are met at a small distance from the marriage house and are led to the bridegroom's house. Then the two

parties proceed to a river or a well, escorted by a band of musicians. Each party carries four new earthen pots containing a few grains of rice and *dhall*, betel-leaves and nuts. The pots are washed and decorated with the flowers of the arecanut tree, and *pūja* is offered to them. Each party brings one set of pots to the house and deposits them apart, in a clean place, on three sorts of grains, brought from neighbouring houses and spread on the ground. This is known as the bringing of the god into the house.

On the second day, early in the morning, the bridegroom gets his head shaved and his nails pared by his maternal uncle. Likewise the bride's nails are pared also by her maternal uncle.

Then follows the ceremony, known as *Malanir Sastra*, which the bride and the bridegroom separately undergo. A wooden plank (പലക) belonging to a hand-loom, is placed in front of the house, within a square formed by the placing of four new earthen vessels at each corner and with cotton thread passing round them thirteen times. The *yajaman* of the caste, the *buddhiwanta* or the *pradhani* and three married women, in succession, pour water over the bride or the bridegroom. The bridegroom, after dressing himself, goes out and stands under a tree.

The *tali*, silver bangles, and silver toe-rings and other presents to the bride, if any, are carried by the parties going in procession with the bridegroom, who holds in his hand a dagger wrapped in a red kerchief. After reaching the marriage pandal, the bride and bridegroom stand facing each other. They get tied round the wrist of each a *kankana*, which is made of white and black woollen threads twisted together, to which are attached an iron or copper ring and a piece of turmeric and sometimes soapnut.

The bride and bridegroom present each other with a flower garland. A *tali* is tied to the neck of the bride by her maternal uncle. Then married women pour milk on the joined hands of the couple, who are then seated side by side, with the hems of their garments tied together. Betel-leaves and nuts are distributed among the assembled. The couple now rise, go round the milk post thrice, and retire into the portion of the house where the earthen vessels have been set up.

That evening, the bride and the bridegroom followed by a procession, bring from an ant-hill some quantity of

earth out of which 13 balls are made, to be placed in front of the posts of the pandal.

This ceremony is followed by a street procession of the bridal pair, who after their return, undergo another *Dhare* (pouring milk) similar to the one done in the morning. This being over, they retire to eat the *Buma* dinner, at which, five dishes containing cooked rice, are set down for the bride, the bridegroom, the yajaman, the pradhani and the rest of the invited caste people.

The bride eats with her mother-in-law, and the bridegroom with his father-in-law, while the others accepting their dishes go out without observing the bride and bridegroom eating. All the members of the caste are then regaled with a sumptuous dinner and libations of toddy.

The next day after dinner, a *Simhasanam* is put up with blankets, on which are placed betel-leaves and nuts for distribution to the various functionaries of the caste.

The *milk post* is pulled down after some fowls are killed before it and offered, and the pandal is then removed.

According to one account (which seems to have borrowed less from outside sources), five men from the bridegroom go to the bride's house and tie the *tali* round the neck of the bride and return to the village, where they keep the bridegroom alone in a room, outside the house known as *Devaramane*. The bride comes on horse-back, alights near the *Deraramane* and goes into the room occupied by the bridegroom. A cloth separates the couple and garlands are mutually exchanged. The men and women throw rice on the heads of the bride and the bridegroom.

A section of the Holeyas in Agara, Yelandur Taluk, do not erect the marriage *pandal* and all their marriages are contracted in a temple of *Nalkumaneamma*, i.e., She of the four houses. Their own priest, generally known as *Tirkula dasayya*, is called in to conduct the marriage ceremony.

**Bride price.** The bride price (*tera*) is stated to be Rs. 12-13-4 at Channapatna, Rs. 25 at Koppa and Rs. 15 at Nanjangud. A widower marrying a virgin bride, has to pay an additional amount varying between Rs. 1-8-0 and Rs. 6, styled *sauti-hana* (money for the co-wife, i.e., his deceased wife). Two-thirds of the marriage expenses are borne by the

bridegroom. It may be noted that half the *tera* amount is to be advanced at the ceremony of *Vilyada Sastra*.

The remarriage of widows is permitted and takes place in the less elaborate form known as *Sirudiike*, i.e., the presentation of the *sadi*. It is not conducted by a priest and the bride is valued at half the price of a virgin girl. Widow marriage.

A widow's children by her first husband belong to his family, and cannot claim any property her second husband might leave to his sons. In the absence of legal heirs to the property of her first husband, it is stated that she may succeed to his property, and pass it on to her children by the second husband. It is, however, doubtful if this view is recognized everywhere and will obtain the sanction of the courts.

She cannot choose for her second husband any one of her deceased husband's brothers, but may marry one of his cousins. She can, in no case, take a husband in the *kula* of her father. For remarriage, the husband need not necessarily be older than the wife.

Divorce is permitted at the desire of either party for infidelity on the part of the wife, or even without such a ground if they agree to part, provided she pays a fine to the caste. But if she remarries another, she has to give back the jewels presented by her first husband and Rs. 9 of the *tera* amount and the marriage expenses estimated at Rs. 50. Divorce.

If a husband deserts his wife without cause, he has to pay her a compensation of Rs. 25.

The form of marriage for a divorced person is *kudike*, i.e., the same as for a widow's marriage. The price paid to a divorced bride is Rs. 6 only. Among Gangadikar and Morasu Holeyas, though divorce is recognized, the divorced person is not allowed to remarry.

Adultery is not abhorred. The matter can be settled with ease by payment of fine to the caste, who use it for drinking liquor.

The dead are buried, as a rule; but sometimes old people are cremated. The body is laid in the grave with its head turned towards the South. People of the same family observe mourning for ten days for the death of adult married people, and three days for that of more distant relations and of a daughter's son. Death.

Soon after death, the body is washed and shrouded in a new cloth. Marks of ashes or of *nāma* are put on the forehead and the body is smeared with ashes and sandal paste and decked with flowers. It is then placed on a bier of *Kalli* wood, in a sitting posture in the case of Vaishnavas or in a lying posture with the right flank down in the case of Saivas. Before starting to the burial ground, exchange of betel-leaves takes place between the deceased and the surviving wife. As soon as the bier is carried, an earthen pot is smashed at the place where it had been placed. The body is placed down when it has been carried half way, and the chief mourner passes once round it, and the bearers change sides. The grave will be ready, being dug by the *chakra* (a village peon) and purified with a lotion of cow-dung and cow's urine sprinkled over, and its bottom lined with a layer of ashes. The body is deposited in the grave over a plantain leaf. A coin is stuck into the nose of the deceased. A cloth is spread over the body with a few coins tied in one of its corners. Then the waist string is cut off and thrown out.

The chief mourner (who is the son or other relation nearest to the deceased) throws in the first handful of earth, and others follow and fill up the grave. A half seer of rice and 4 pies are placed on a cloth over the grave, which is taken by the grave-digger for his services. For the spirit of the deceased they place over the grave some rice, jaggory and a few coins, which the mendicants, *dasayya* and others, accept, after declaring that the deceased has reached the upper world. The wife of the deceased takes off her bangles over the grave. Those who accompanied the dead body return after dipping themselves in a tank or spring. A lamp is lit at the place where the spirit left the body, and some water is kept in a vessel close by and sand spread round it. Next morning the water is examined and foot-prints are searched for on the sand. If no foot-prints are seen and the water is not diminished, it is feared that the spirit has reason to be dissatisfied. A soothsayer is consulted, and according to his advice, some food is buried where the deceased breathed his last. On the third day, all the relatives of the deceased serve over the grave, milk, ghee, toddy and all other good things that the deceased liked, when he was in flesh and blood.

The principal mourner gets shaved and bathes on the 11th day. He places new cloths before a new earthen vessel and breaks cocoanuts in the name of the deceased.

The priest who directs the obsequial ceremonies of this day, is a Satani. Toddy forms an essential ingredient, and those who partake of the liquor used for the obsequies are considered to have kept company with the deceased at the feast. The Satani priest, after serving the guests with such toddy, is said to take some for himself. He then conducts the mourner to the burial ground where he places his feet over the grave and bids the mourner wash them and prostrate himself. For all this, the priest is rewarded with gifts of money and grains.

During the period of mourning they do not attend *bhajana* (religious gathering) or take part in any festivities or auspicious ceremonies.

They do not perform any *Sraddhas*.

These are a settled people, and generally live in groups of huts huddled close together, which are generally low and built of mud. They are not provided with windows and have ventilators open to the sky. Their street is known as *Holageri*\* which is generally outside the main village. Near Mysore and other large places, they are building respectable tiled houses and are exhibiting other signs of growing prosperity. Though the entry of others into the caste is not encouraged, they take in such of those of the higher castes who are put out on account of their contact with themselves, generally in the matter of sexual relations. Such recruits are purified with certain ceremonies, which are shaving the head (for males), branding the tongue with a piece of gold, drinking the cow's urine and bathing the body with water from sacred vessels. These persons are made to pass successively through seven huts which are put up and burnt down soon after they pass through, to symbolise their passing through seven births. They make *pūja* to the *Mudra* of the caste, and then give a dinner to the members, at which they have to collect morsels from the guests and then partake of the food thus collected. Thereafter they are admitted into the caste and no social disabilities are imposed on them. The new men are affiliated to some *kula* or *gotra* among the Holeyas.

Social  
Status.

In the matter of inheritance, they follow Hindu Law modified by their tribal customs. Sons divide the paternal

Inheri-  
tance.

---

\* In Kanpada, *Keri* means a street or quarters, and *Holageri* (Holeya + *keri*) means Holeyas quarters.



property equally, but the youngest son has the right of selecting his share first, a custom somewhat opposed to the recognized superior status of the eldest according to orthodox doctrine. A son-in-law who resides with his father-in-law receives an equal share with his brother-in-law. Widows and unmarried daughters are entitled to maintenance.

Holeyas look down upon Madigas as inferior, as the latter work on leather and are village scavengers. But they are regarded as unclean by the higher castes equally with the Madigas. They are not allowed to enter the houses of most of the higher castes, and have to stand at a distance from Brahmans. In consequence of necessity and growing intelligence on both sides, the rules of contact and approach are being greatly relaxed at present. There are no social disabilities of any kind in the matter of acquiring and owning property, but Holeyas generally avoid quarters in the neighbourhood of those occupied by the higher castes.

Holeyas cannot use the village well, and the village barber and washerman do not render services to them. But they have their own barbers and washermen and are not put to any inconvenience.

At Melkote in the Mysore District, Ramanujacharya, the Vaishnava reformer, accorded to these outcastes the privilege of entering the temple along with the Brahmans and other higher castes during the annual car festival for a period of three days. On the day of the procession the *Tirukulam*\* people, men, women and children, shave their heads and bathe with the higher castes in the *Kalyani* or large reservoir, and carry on their head small earthen vessels filled with rice and oil, and enter the temple as far as the flagstaff, where they deliver their offerings. The privilege of entering the temple during the annual car procession is enjoyed also by the outcastes in the Vishnu temple at Belur, Hassan District.†

Ordinarily a Holeyas is not permitted to enter a temple and in case he enters it, it has to be purified. A Holeyas does not eat in the house of a Madiga, Koracha or Nagarata.

---

\* Tirukulam (sacred caste) is the title given by Ramanujacharya to this caste for the services rendered to the temple of Melkote (Census Report, 1891).

† Mysore Census Report, 1891. P. 251.

The members of the caste are either the followers of the cult of *Vishnu* or *Siva* ; but they resort by preference, to the more vulgar and barbarous representations of these deities. They pay homage chiefly to the images which personify the malignant powers and bloodthirsty qualities.

The followers of *Siva* are known as *Mullujana* and Religion. revere the *Linga* in Nanjangud and Chaudeswari and Narasimhaswami. Their patron deities are Mastamma and Bairedevaru. Their *Gurus* belong to Lingayat caste. *Dasajana* are the devotees of Vishnu and they put on *Nama*. Their *Gurus* are Satanis, who render help in the funeral ceremonies, and prepare the *bhashinga*\* worn at the marriages by the bride and bridegroom.

Those who become *dāsas* are branded with a metallic signet with Vaishnava marks by a *Guru*.

The caste, as a whole, worships all kinds of gods. The males kill animals in their worship to gods, while the females propitiate their gods offering only fruits or cooked grains. *Maramma*, the spirit of epidemic diseases, is propitiated with the killing of fowls or sheep. It is worshipped on Fridays and Tuesdays with the help of a priest either of their own or of a higher caste. *Gangamma* is propitiated with the offering of fruits. Females only worship this god, which presides over the diseases peculiar to women. *Mastamma*, *Baire Devaru* and *Manigamma* are given only fruits and preparations of rice. *Hindamma* and *Hosakereyamma* are bloodthirsty gods and require the killing of animals.

The following are the names of other gods (chiefly of female *Sakti* or spirits) which are worshipped in different localities :—

Durgi, Masanamma, Huchchangiyamma, Hulasamma, Mutyalamma, Muniamma, Hindamma, Patalamma, Veerabhadra, Hosakereappa and Masti Devaru.

As a rule, all male gods are given only *chokkabhojana* (or non-animal food), while female gods representing the *Sakti* require to be propitiated with the killing of animals. Most of the above-mentioned goddesses are the village gods, some worshipped on Tuesdays and Fridays

---

\* *Bhashinga* is prepared in pith and lead leaf and is used in marriages by the bridal parties as an ornament tied to the forehead of the bride, and over the turban of the bridegroom.

only and some annually on festive days. In honour of the gods of the last kind, annual *Jatras* are held, at which many people collect, meet together and buffaloes and other animals are killed. The offerings made to the gods are eaten by this caste.

They do not appear to have taken kindly to spirits of trees, animals or springs, though they sometimes locate their recognized gods under trees.

Religious  
orders.

In this caste are to be found a number of religious orders who live by mendicancy. They do not stick to any place but live by frequent journeys to the places of pilgrimage. They are the *Dasas*, the *Jogis*, the *Devaraguddas*, the *Bidimanushyas* or the *Nilagararu*.

Such sections of the caste as recognize *Chunchangiri Bhairedévaru* as their family god, set apart a man to lead a religious life, into which he must be initiated by a *Bairagi*, who is also a disciple of the Matha at Chunchangiri, Naga-mangala Taluk. The *Bairagi* bores a hole in the lobe of the right ear of the man to be made a *Jogi*, with an iron needle called *diksha churi* and has to manage not to let more than two drops of blood fall to the ground in doing so. Then the candidate bathes and suspends to his neck a *Kola Singunada*, a tapering metallic whistle ornamented with rings at intervals, which he hangs to his neck by a thread made of black sheep wool, intertwined sixteen times. Thenceforth he attains the rank of a priest in his caste, entitled to alms on festive and ceremonial occasions. When beginning his *pūja* or his feast, a *Jogi* takes his whistle in his right hand and blows a loud shrill note.

A *Jogi* is usually initiated in fulfilment of a vow taken by the parents, and it is said that he has to remain a bachelor for life. Many other castes enter into this order such as Vokkaligas, Kurubas, Besthas and Agasas. Those who pass by the name of *Nilagaras* wear the badge of god *Manteswara*, and girls are also so dedicated. They have to live by begging. Their head is shaved and a string of *rudrakshi* beads and *Lingamani* are worn. They apply ashes to their foreheads and carry a begging bowl and sack for holding the alms, with a cane and a musical instrument which are the badges of their profession. *Devaraguddas*, also known as *Bidimanushyas* or single men, are the pujaris of the caste.

Brahmans are not employed for the conduct of Priests. religious and funeral ceremonies. A Brahman's approach into the Holeyas quarters is resented just as much as the Brahman avoids contact with a Holeyas. The reason for this dislike is turned into a myth. It is said that Lakshmi went in her monthly sickness (which is a state of pollution) to various houses seeking a resting place. Komatis received her kindly and Brahmans did not allow her to approach their abode. Each had their reward, Komatis being generally wealthy and Brahmans poor. She was given a safe asylum in the houses of Holeyas. The latter fear that if a Brahman goes to their quarters, their Lakshmi will go away with him, and so drive him out. A Satani is generally the priest of this caste. He attends at the name-giving ceremony and conducts funeral ceremonies. A *Brahman* astrologer is however sometimes consulted to fix auspicious moments for the celebration of marriages and for the first entry into houses.

A man of the Lingayet caste and a *Tirukula Dasa* of the Vishnu cult also sometimes serve as priests.

The following extracts from the Mysore Census Report Occupation. of 1891, relating to the occupations of this caste, are interesting, and exhibit a state of things that is fast disappearing as regards its objectionable features :—

The Holeyas are chiefly employed as labourers in connection with agriculture and manufacture with hand-looms, various kinds of coarse cloth or home-spun which are worn extensively by the poorer classes. In some parts of the Mysore District considerable numbers of the Holeyas are specially engaged in betel vine gardening.

As labourers, these classes are employed in innumerable pursuits in which manual labour preponderates. The *Aleman* sub-division furnishes recruits as sepoy.

In the maidan they enjoy a certain recognized prestige and status in the village autonomy, as has been already noticed. In the malnad, however, the Holeyas had degenerated into an agrestic slave and till a few decades ago under the British rule, not only as regards his property but also with regard to his body he was not his own master. The *Vargadar* or land-holder owned him as a hereditary slave.

In most of the purely malnad or hilly taluks, each *Vargadar* or proprietor of landed estate owns a set of servants styled *Huttalu* and *Mannalu*. The former is the hereditary servitor of the family born in servitude and performing agricultural work for the land-holder from father to son. The *Mannalu* is a serf attached to the soil and changes hands with it.

In order furthermore to rivet the ties which bind these hereditary labourers to the soil it is alleged that the local capitalists have improvised a kind of *Gretna Green* marriage among them,

A legal marriage of the orthodox type contains the risk of a female servant being lost to the family in case the husband happened not to be a *Huttalu* or *Mannalu*. So in order to obviate the possible loss, a custom prevails, according to which a female *Huttalu* or *Mannalu* is espoused in what is locally known as the *Manikattu* form, which is neither more nor less than licensed concubinage. She may be given up after a time subject to a small fine to the caste and anybody else may then espouse her on like conditions. Not only does she then remain in the family but her children will also become the landlord's servants.

The average wages paid to these people are—

Daily	{	1	Kolaga of paddy for males.				
		4 $\frac{2}{3}$	Kolagas of paddy for females.				
		1	Meal of cooked food.				
Annually	{		For a male.				
		1	Turban	....	0	6	0
		1	Hachada	...	2	0	0
		1	Datti	...	0	6	0
		1	Kambli	...	1	4	0
			For a female.				
		1	Sadi	...	2	8	0
		1	Bodice	....	0	4	0
		1	Valli	...	0	12	0
		1	Kambli	...	1	4	0

In large places, especially in Mysore and Bangalore, the Holeyas are fairly prosperous and quite able to hold their own in the labour and other markets. There are many petty raiyats holding their fields directly under Government; in fact, there are quite as many independent raiyats as subordinate tenants among them. They do not fix any particular day in the week as auspicious for ploughing and other agricultural operations.

The rains under *Bharani*, *Krittike*, *Punarvasu* are considered lucky, while *Aswini* rain is unlucky.

In addition to their duties at the field, they are village watchmen and general messengers. A *Chalavadi*, who is generally a Holey, is the servant of the right hand or 18-caste section of the community, and is the custodian of the symbol of that community, *viz.*, the bell and the ladle. These are made of brass and are connected together by a chain of the same metal. The *Chalavadi* carries the ladle on his right shoulder and heads the processions of all the right hand section people, sounding the bell with the shake of the chain. These insignia are also produced at caste assemblies and sometimes they are placed before *Sangameswara gaddige* and *puja* made to them.

The spoon has on it engraved the badges of different castes composing this section, such as the plough of the Vokkaliga, the scales of the Banajiga, the shears of a Kuruba, the spade of a Vodda, the razor of a barber, the washing stone-slab and pot of an Agasa and the wheel of a Kumbara. This also contains a bull flanked on either side by the sun and the moon. At the foot of the spoon are also engraved the figures of an ass and of a *Bidi Basavi*.

Toe-ring, *tali* and bangles are not worn by widows. General.  
 Women get their hands and fore-heads tattooed by Koracha women. Males dress themselves with a loin cloth and *kambli* and females with *sire* and bodice. During *Dipavali* they dance *kolata*.

Some of them catch small game and also eat rats. They eat almost all kinds of flesh and except only the single-hoofed animals and the jackal, monkey and crocodile. They eat flesh of cattle, sheep, goat, wild boar, pork, peacock, wolf and soft scaled fish. Toddy and arrack are freely drunk, and sometimes women also indulge in this habit.

---

## APPENDIX.

(List of *kulas* or *Septs*.)

<i>Attikula</i>	(ಅತ್ತಿ ಕುಲ)	Fig tree
<i>Anekula</i>	(ಅನ್ನೇಕುಲ)	Elephant or plant of that name
<i>Arurigaru</i>	(ಅರುಂಗರು)	Beans
<i>Ale</i>	(ಆಲೆ)	A tree
<i>Agani</i>	(ಆಗಣಿ)	Bolt
<i>Ankeyavaru</i>	(ಅಂಕೇಯವರು)	
<i>Ambarakula</i>	(ಅಂಬಾರಕುಲ)	An elephant howdah
<i>Bhumi</i>	(ಭೂಮಿ)	Earth
<i>Belli</i>	(ಬೆಳ್ಳಿ)	Silver
<i>Bakigaru</i>	(ಬಾಕಿಗರು)	Plantain
<i>Chatrikula</i>	(ಚಾತ್ರಿಕುಲ)	Umbrella
<i>Chandrakula</i>	(ಚಂದ್ರಕುಲ)	Moon
<i>Chinnadakula</i>	(ಚಿನ್ನದಕುಲ)	Gold
<i>Chambula</i>	(ಚಂಬುಲ)	
<i>Chintalu</i>	(ಚಿಂತಲು)	Tamarind. (They do not cut the tree but do not scruple to use the fruit.)
<i>Charana</i>	(ಚವನ)	
<i>Chella</i>	(ಚಿಳ್ಳ)	Cleaning nuts
<i>Darollu</i>	(ದಾರೆಳ್ಳು)	
<i>Gollate</i>	(ಗೊಲ್ಲಟ)	
<i>Gango-galu</i>	(ಗಂಗೆಗಳು)	
<i>Gudikula</i>	(ಗುಡಿಕುಲ)	Temple
<i>Ganigarakula</i>	(ಗಾಣಿಗರಕುಲ)	Oil-mill
<i>Huvvina</i>	(ಹುವ್ವಿನ)	Flowers
<i>Hutta</i>	(ಹುತ್ತ)	Ant-hill
<i>Holuru</i>	(ಹೋಳೂರು)	
<i>Halukula</i>	(ಹಾಲುಕುಲ)	Milk
<i>Halattakula</i>	(ಹಾಲ್ತಕುಲ)	
<i>Hasubé</i>	(ಹಸುಬೆ)	Bag
<i>Haré</i>	(ಹಾರೆ)	Crowbar
<i>Hunakula</i>	(ಹೂನ)	
<i>Hagalukula</i>	(ಹಾಗಲುಕುಲ)	Bitter gourd

<i>Jintra</i>	(ಜಿಂತ್ರ)	
<i>Jenukula</i>	(ಜೇನುಕುಲ)	Honey
<i>Kembarekula</i>	(ಕೆಂಬಾರ)	
<i>Kavanekula</i>	(ಕವಣ)	Sling
<i>Karrokula</i>	(ಕರ್ರಕುಲ)	Plant
<i>Kargadakula</i>	(ಕರಗದ)	Vessel
<i>Kannanthradakula</i>	(ಕಣ್ಣಂತ್ರದ)	
<i>Kaneerkula</i>	(ಕಣೀ)	A flower
<i>Kurubarakula</i>	(ಕುರುಬರ)	Shepherd
<i>Katigaru</i>	(ಕಾಟಗರು)	
<i>Kannegaru</i>	(ಕನ್ನೆಗರು)	A herb
<i>Kani</i>	(ಕಾಣ)	
<i>Kalu</i>	(ಕಾಲು)	Leg
<i>Kapu</i>	(ಕಾಪು)	An ornament
<i>Konga</i>	(ಕೊಂಗ)	
<i>Kasturi</i>	(ಕಸ್ತೂರಿ)	Musk
<i>Kuppagiri</i>	(ಕುವ್ವಗಿರಿ)	
<i>Kogilu</i>	(ಕೋಗಿಲು)	Cuckoo
<i>Lagamikula</i>	(ಲಗಮಿ)	
<i>Mugaligaru</i>	(ಮುಗಗಿ)	A kind of tree
<i>Maddalati</i>	(ಮದ್ದಲಾಟ)	
<i>Malikula</i>	(ಮಾಲಿ)	Garland
<i>Mandatora</i>	(ಮಂಡತೂರ)	
<i>Mallora</i>	(ಮಲ್ಲ)	Jessamine
<i>Molakula</i>	(ಮೊಲ)	Rabbit
<i>Matti</i>	(ಮತ್ತಿ)	A timber tree
<i>Madya</i>	(ಮದ್ಯ)	
<i>Mukkara</i>	(ಮುಕ್ಕರ)	Nose-ring
<i>Nerali</i>	(ನೇರಳೆ)	A tree
<i>Nagarakula</i>	(ನಾಗರ)	Snake
<i>Naggaligaru</i>	(ನಗ್ಗಲಿಗರು)	A thorny plant
<i>Olorakula</i>	(ಓಲೋರಕುಲ)	
<i>Pale</i>	(ಪಾಲೆ)	
<i>Poomaligaru</i>	(ಪುಮಾಲಿಗರು)	Flower garland
<i>Panne</i>	(ಪಣ್ಣೆ)	A tree
<i>Pasali</i>	(ಪಸಲಿ)	



<i>Pegadasingarollu</i>	(ಬೆಗಡಸಿಂಗರ)	
<i>Rampada</i>	(ರಂಪದ)	Saw
<i>Roppada</i>	(ರೊಪ್ಪ)	Sheep fold
<i>Sadakula</i>	(ಸಾದ)	
<i>Sara</i>	(ಸಾರ)	
<i>Sambu</i>	(ಸಂಬು)	
<i>Sangu</i>	(ಸಂಗು)	
<i>Sidlukula</i>	(ಸಿಡ್ಲು)	Lightning
<i>Sumlanoru</i>	(ಸುಮ್ಮನೋರು)	
<i>Sunthalaru</i>	(ಸುಂತ)	
<i>Suryakula</i>	(ಸೂರ್ಯ)	Sun
<i>Suttagadu</i>	(ಸುಟ್ಟಗಾಡು)	Burial ground
<i>Settikula</i>	(ಸೆಟ್ಟಕುಲ)	Headman
<i>Tenekula</i>	(ತೆನೆ)	Ears of corn
<i>Togarigaru</i>	(ತೋಗಿ)	Pigeon pea
<i>Tanga</i>	(ತಂಗ)	Gold
<i>Untuchanigalu</i>	(ಉಂಟುಚನಿಗಲು)	Bengal gram
<i>Veelyadakula</i>	(ವೀಲ್ಯ)	Betel leaf
<i>Varaku</i>	(ವರಕು)	
<i>Yemme</i>	(ಯಮ್ಮ)	Buffalo

---

(Preliminary Issue.)

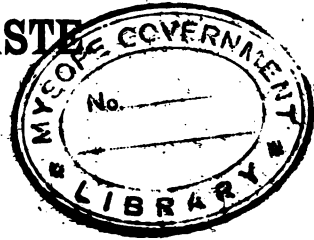
# The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.

---

III.

BEDA CASTE

BY

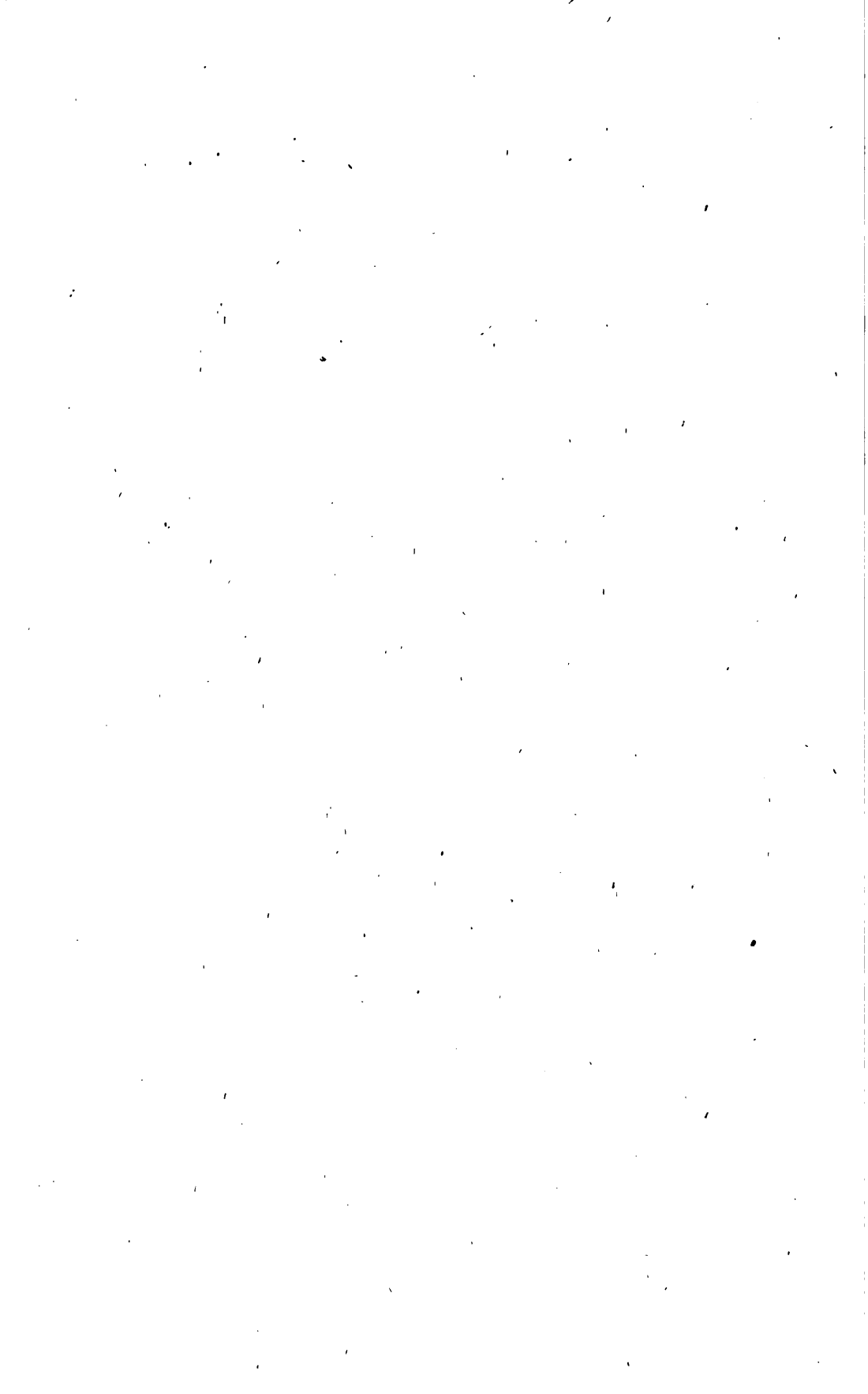


H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.

---

BANGALORE:  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS  
1906.

*Price 4 Annas.*



(Preliminary Issue.)

**The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

---

**III.  
BEDA CASTE.**

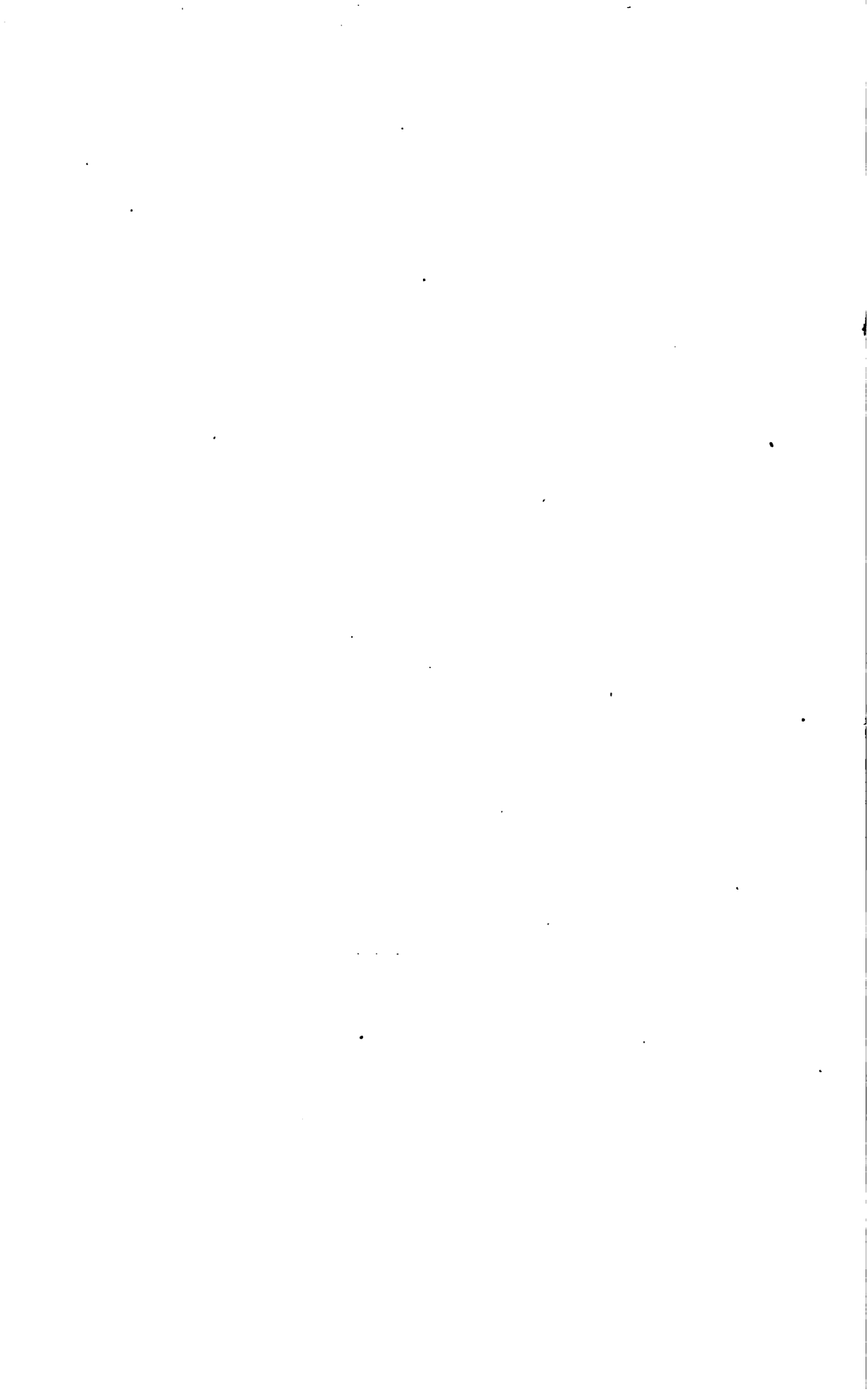
BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

---

BANGALORE:  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS  
1906.

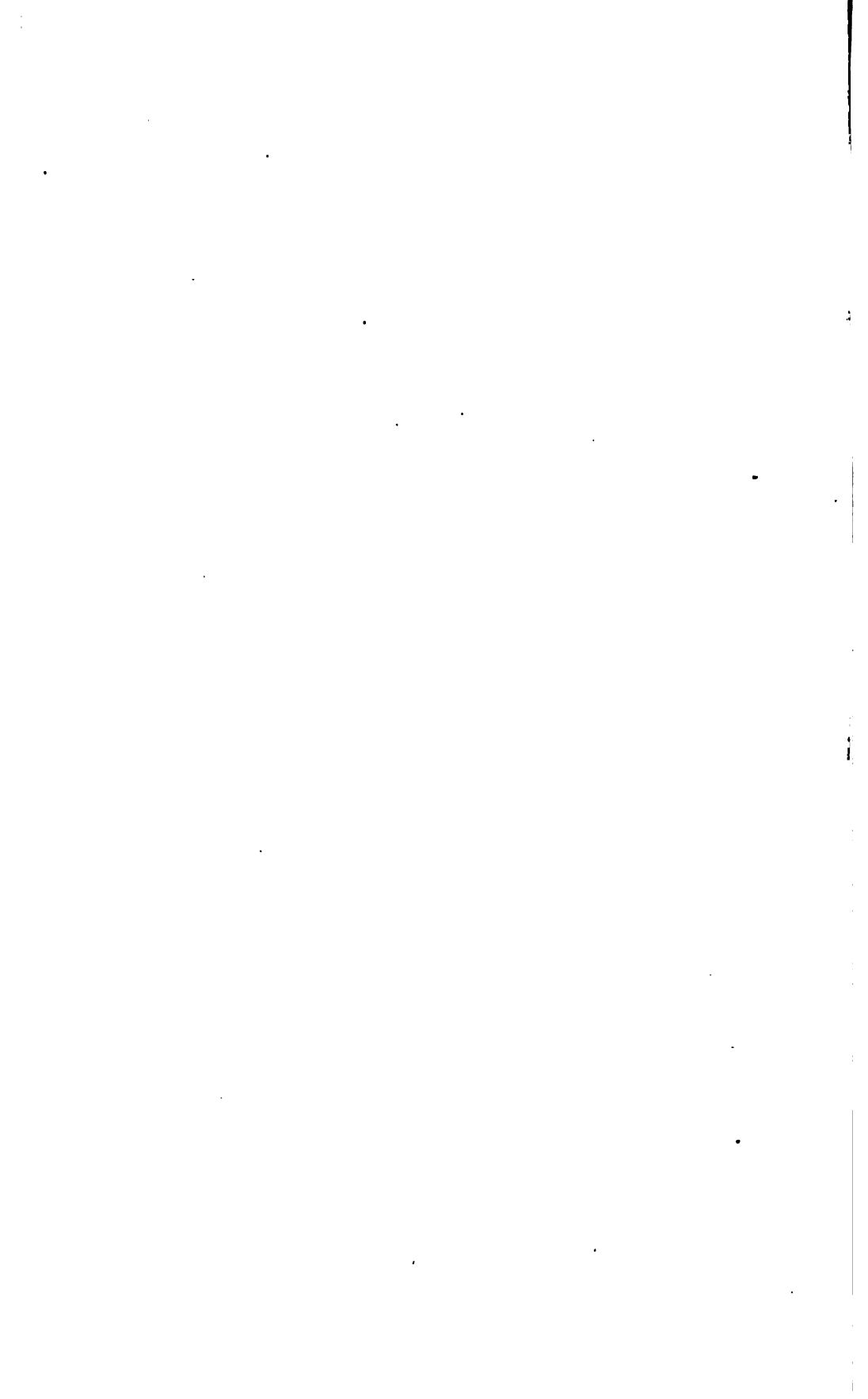
*Price 4 Annas.*



# CONTENTS.

---

	PAGE.
Number .. ...	1
Names ... ..	1
Origin and meaning of names ...	2—3
Language ... ..	3
Endogamous divisions ... ..	3—5
Superstition in naming ... ..	5—6
Marriage .... ..	6—10
Puberty ... ..	10
Widow marriage ... ..	11
Divorce ... ..	11—12
Adultery ... ..	12
Dedication of Basavis ... ..	12—13
Death and funeral ceremonies ...	13—15
Admission of outsiders ... ..	15—16
Inheritance ... ..	16
Social status ... ..	16
Food ... ..	16
Tribal constitution ... ..	17
Religion ... ..	17—18
Omens ... ..	13
Occupation ... ..	19
Agricultural superstitions ... ..	19
Dress ... ..	20
Appendix (Exogamous divisions or <i>Kulas</i> )	21—22



## BEDAS.

The Bédas ಬೇಡರು called Bóyi ಬೋಯಿ in Telugu and Védan ವೇಡನ್ in Tamil number according to the latest Census 244,990, comprising 123,345 males and 121,645 females. Of these about three-tenths are in the Chitaldrug District and three-tenths in the Kolar and Tumkur Districts together, the rest being in the remaining five districts. Number.

The name *Náyaka* (ನಾಯಕ chief) or *Náyakanamakkaḷu* (ನಾಯಕನ ಮಕ್ಕಳು chief's children) is sometimes applied to this caste. They also style themselves as the members of Valmiki's family or members of Kannayya's caste. *Gurikara* (ಗುರಿಕಾರ a marksman) and *Kirata* (ಕಿರಾತ the cruel) are often given as their nicknames. Names.

*Béda* (ಬೇಡ) sometimes written *Biyada* (ಬಿಯಡ) is a corruption of the Sanskrit word *Vyádha* (ವ್ಯಾಧ) meaning a hunter and shows what the original occupation of the caste was. They call themselves in Telugu *Dora-biḍḍalu* (king's children) and occasionally as *Pályegars*, the latter appellation being appropriated as many of these who gathered a larger band of predatory followers than usual around them, succeeded in setting themselves up in the troublous days of the common dissolution of authority during the two or three centuries preceding the last, as Palyegars or chiefs of a *Palya* (ಪಾಲ್ಯ) or a settlement.

The connection with Valmiki is founded on a tradition that the great author of the epic Ramayana was of this caste before his conversion. He was a highway robber of more than usual rapacity, and when he attacked the Sage Vasishta, the latter showed him the sin of his bad life and proved its worthlessness even in a worldly sense, when his own wife for whom he had been undergoing all this risk, declined to share the accountability



for his sins. The man was so ignorant that he could not pronounce the holy name of Rama and the teacher had to adopt the expedient of making him repeat *mara* (a tree in Kannada) in rapid succession, to make him meditate about *Rama*. As a result of his long meditation, the repenting hunter and robber got divine wisdom, and was able to compose the grand epic that has obtained such renown in the world. He subsequently had twelve sons who are claimed to be the progenitors of the present caste. It is hardly necessary to add that all this has no support in the Ramayana itself. Perhaps its germ is to be found in the statement therein, that, being induced by Nárada and Brahma to compose the immortal epic, the Rishi Valmiki threw himself into *Yoga-Samadhi*, when all the facts of Rama's earthly career became as clear to him as a fruit held in his palm of his hand, and enabled him to compass his end.

Another ingenious explanation is given of the term Válmíkaru as applied to Bedas, which says that they are so called because during the first rains of the year they dig ant-hills, take out winged ants therein and eat them.

#### Origin and history.

As some of the names of the caste unmistakably indicate, the Bédas were originally a wild tribe living in jungles and mountains and supporting themselves by hunting. They used to infest the highways for robbery and were considered fit instruments for all acts of rapine and cruelty. Hence they were known as *Kirátas* (ಕಿರಾತ the cruel). A story of Kannayya, an eponymous leader of this caste, is of some significance as showing the original occupation of the caste or at any rate its ideal. He was a devotee of Siva and was finding fault with the usual form of worship in which the worshipper placed a dish of food before his god but subsequently ate it himself. When, in order to test him, God Siva surprised him in an inaccessible jungle in the guise of a hungry guest and asked for food, he was offered some meat of an animal killed in the jungle, and when after while the guest was in danger of losing an eye from disease, Kannayya plucked out his own and offered to replace the poor wayfarer's lost organ. Siva was of course gratified and offered the devotee some boon. But he was quite content with his lot and would have none of it. He had all that he wanted, a gruel in an earthen pot, children round a common earthen eating plate, a burning faggot for light and a highway for robbery, what more needed he

Their early habits well fitted them for the army of which in later times they became a most important element. They were largely employed in the rank and file of the armies of Vijianagar Empire. They gradually spread to the south, and by the time of Hyder Ali, they not only constituted the pick of his army, but many of the caste had set themselves up as petty chiefs known as Palyegars who had also men of the same caste in their armies. Buchanan writing in 1800 says of them :—

Throughout these hills (near Magadi, Bangalore District), which extend northward from Capaladurga, are many cultivated spots in which during Tippoo's government were settled many Baydaru or hunters who received twelve pagodas (£4-5s) a year and served as irregular troops whenever required. Being accustomed to pursue tigers and deer in the woods, they were excellent marksmen with their matchlocks, and indefatigable in following their prey ; which in the time of war, was the life and property of every helpless creature that came in their way. During the wars of Hyder and his son, these men were chief instruments in the terrible depredations committed in the lower Carnatic. They were also frequently employed with success against the Polyagars, whose followers were men of a similar description. At present, as they receive no pay, they are obliged to apply more closely to agriculture ; for in that way they always employed their leisure ; and there is a prospect of their becoming a quiet and industrious people although they still retain their arms and an anxious desire for plunder.

With the advent of more peaceful times, this expectation about the habits and occupation of these people has been fully realized. Many of them are employed as village watchmen or *Talaris*, and also find employment as peons in the Police and Revenue Departments of Government.

They seem to be originally a Telugu speaking people, but after long settlement, those of the Kannada districts have adopted that language as their mother tongue. Language.

The following endogamous divisions are found in the caste :— Endogamous divisions.

*Ūru Bédas* (ಉರು ಬೇಡರು) called in Telugu, *Chinna Boyis* (ಚಿನ್ನ ಬೋಯಿ ವಾಂಡ್ಲು).

*Mydsa Bédas* (ಮ್ಯಾಸ ಬೇಡರು) Sometimes called *Pedda Boyis* (ಪೆಡ್ಡ ಬೋಯಿ ವಾಂಡ್ಲು) and *Chenchûis* (ಚಂಚುಲು).

*Gudûsi* or *gudlu Bédas* (ಗುಡ್ಡು ಬೇಡರು) called also *ಗುಂತಬೋಯಿ ವಾಂಡ್ಲು* and nicknamed (ಅಡ್ಡ ಜೇತೈಲವಾಳ್ಳು) (cross-handed).

*Mâremmana Bédas* (ಮಾರೆಮ್ಮನ ಬೇಡರು) also called *Mutyâlamma* or *Urumé Bédas* (ಮುತ್ತಾಲಮ್ಮ ಅಥವಾ ಉರುಮೆ ಬೇಡರು) and *Sadara Bédas* (ಸದರ ಬೇಡರು).

*Hālu Bédas* (ಹಾಲು ಬೇಡರು).

*Monda Bédas* (ಮೊಂಡ ಬೇಡರು).

There are a few more divisions such as those named *Bārīka* (ಬಾರಿಕ), *Goliga* (ಗೋಳಿಗ), *Gaddalabala* (ಗದ್ದಲಬಾಲ), *Muddalu* (ಮುದ್ದಲು) and *Patra* (ಪಟ್ರ) which are returned as endogamous.

It is, however, probable that they are nothing but synonyms of one or another of the divisions already mentioned.

*Ūru Bedas* are by far the largest division of the caste, and are so called because of their residence in towns and villages, unlike, for example, *Monda Bedas*, a wandering tribe, who are beggars by profession.

*Myasa Bedas* are found mostly in the Chitaldrug District. They profess to derive their name from *mesha* (ಮೇಷ), a goat, the name of the first sign of the Zodiac, Aries. They form an interesting division and have some peculiar customs such as circumcision, and abstaining from eating fowls and pigs. They lived mostly in jungles till recently; many have since taken to living in towns and villages. It deserves to be ascertained how far their customs have been moulded by Mussulman influences. They seem to be the same as the forest tribe known as *Chenchus*.

*Gudisi* or *gudlu Bedas* (ಗುಡಿಸಿ, ಗುಡ್ಲು ಬೇಡರು) are so called on account of their living in *gudlu* or temporary huts. They are an inferior division.

The significance of the term *Sadara Bēda* could not be ascertained. The appellation of *Halu Bedas* (i.e. milk Bedas) is used to indicate their superiority to other divisions.

*Monda\** *Bedas* are said to be the descendants of a man of the *Mandala* (ಮಂಡಲ) exogamous section, who through ignorance married a girl of the same section. This was discovered too late and the couple were expelled from the village and were made to live outside,—eking out their living by beggary. Even now persons of this division never enter the houses of the other *Bedas*, and they are not allowed to beg from the people of the *Mandala* section.

---

\* *Monda* (ಮೊಂಡ) means in Kannada, an indolent or rude or obstinate fellow.

The caste is divided into a number of exogamous divisions, and their integrity is kept up with the utmost scrupulousness. The tradition regarding the origin of these divisions is as follows :—

Exogamous divisions.

The descendants of *Valmiki* by his twelve sons fell out with one another and had a fight amongst themselves, in the course of which many lives were lost. The eldest of these sons called Mandala-Manibattu-Razu (ಮಂಡಲಮನಿಬತ್ತು ರಾಜ) hearing of the carnage, went to the scene of the quarrel to reprimand them. The combatants were afraid of meeting him and fleeing from the place hid themselves in various places. After a search they were discovered, some hiding under washerman's tubs, some in ant-hills, some in hills and such other places. The chief divided them into separate groups, distinguished each by the hiding place of its representatives, himself becoming the head of the Manda division. Even now on marriage and other occasions, a *tāmbula* is given in the name of Mandalamani-battu Razu and sometimes in that of his servant also who belonged to the Ankila section. Some of the exogamous divisions are named in the appendix.

There are said to be altogether 101 such divisions, but the names of all of them could not be ascertained. Most of them are apparently totemistic and as usual bear the names of plants and animals. But except in a few instances,—not however, quite authenticated, no special regard seems to be paid to the particular *totems* in any respect.

There are no hypergamous divisions.

The names of children are generally taken either from those of their household gods or of their ancestors. In some families on the 5th or the 7th day of the birth of a child, an elderly woman consults a Korama woman, professing to be a soothsayer, as to the name to be given to the child. The Korama woman, after consulting her signs in her usual manner, gives out the name, which generally happens to be the name of the family god or of an ancestor of the child's parents. Only one name is given; but sometimes an additional name is tacked on just before marriage if a match otherwise agreeable to all parties, is found not to answer the tests of astrological calculation.

Superstitions in names.

There are no names specially appropriated by this caste; the following are given as examples of common names occurring therein :—

Male	Female
<i>Kadiriga</i> (ಕದಿರಿಗ)	<i>Kadiri</i> (ಕದಿರಿ)
<i>Sanjiva</i> (ಸಂಜೀವ)	<i>Sanjivi</i> (ಸಂಜೀವಿ)
<i>Māra</i> (ಮಾರ)	<i>Bommi</i> (ಬೊಮ್ಮಿ)
<i>Bōra</i> (ಬೋರ)	<i>O'bi</i> (ಒಬಿ)
<i>Ndga</i> (ನಾಗ)	<i>Yerri</i> (ಯರಿ)
<i>Konda</i> (ಕೊಂಡ)	<i>Chaudamma</i> (ಚೌಡಮ್ಮ)

Nicknames are given either to denote occupation or to describe size and appearance, such as *A'vula Vāḍu* a cowherd; *Gorcaloḍu* (ಗೊರಲೋಡು) sheep tender; *Chevvalodu* (ಚವಲೋಡು) long eared; *Mōtodu* (ಮೋಟೋಡು) dwarf.

A child born after the parents have successively lost a number of children in childhood, is thrown on a manure heap placed on a sieve and taken back. Sometimes it is thrown on its face. Its right nostril is bored and a nose screw put on.

Names like the following are given to such children :— *Tippa* (ತಿಪ್ಪ); *Tippi* (ತಿಪ್ಪಿ) a manure heap; *Bārla* (ಬಾರ್ಲ) *Bārli* (ಬಾರ್ಲಿ) thrown on the face; *Gunda* (ಗುಂಡ) *Gundi* (ಗುಂಡಿ) round stone; *Pullākulodu* (ಪುಲ್ಲಾಕುಲೋಡು) thrown-out leaves; *Paradēs'i* (ಪರದೇಸಿ) foreigner; *Pāresi* (ಪಾರೇಸಿ) one cast out; *Adavi* (ಅಡವಿ) jungle; *Kallu* (ಕಲ್ಲ) stone; *Gidaga* (ಗಿಡಗ) hawk; *Kaṭiga* (ಕಾಟಗ) a man of the desert; *Javarāya* (ಜವರಾಯ) or Yama, the god of death; *Sachchévādu* (ಸಚ್ಚೇವಾಡು) one likely to die.

When an unusual number of girls are born in succession, the last born child is given the name of *Santamma* (ಸಾಂತಮ್ಮ) or *Sakamma* (ಸಾಕಮ್ಮ), these names meaning that the female children are enough and are no more needed. The belief is that thereafter no female children would be born, and if the mother gives birth to any children at all, they would all be male ones. The saying is “ಸಾಕು ಸಾಕು ಸಾಂತಮ್ಮ ಬೇಕು ಬೇಕು ಬೆನವಣ್ಣಿ” which means that *Santammas* (denoting female children) are enough and *Benavannas* (standing for males) are wanted.

#### Marriage.

Polygamy is allowed though as a matter of fact, it is rarely resorted to except when such reasons as barrenness, or incurable disease, of the first wife exist. Polyandry is unknown.

A marriage is either regular or irregular, the latter is held somewhat in lower repute and is variously known as *Kudike* (കുടിക union), *Sirudike* (സിറുടിക, the giving of a woman's garment as a present by the man).

Marriage in the section to which either one's own mother, paternal grandmother or maternal grandmother belongs, is allowed, provided this section is different from that of the person. The only other formula not covered by the rule of exogamy is that the boy and the girl should not be related to each other either by affinity or by analogy as brother and sister or parent and child. Two sisters may be married by one man, and two brothers may marry two sisters. Marriage with an elder sister's daughter is sanctioned, but one may marry a younger sister's daughter only when inevitable, as when a widower cannot procure any other girl to marry. A sister's daughter may be married to a man's son, in which case the man himself cannot marry another daughter of the same sister.

Marriage is generally of adults, though infants are often so united. A woman may remain without marriage all through her life, though few or none do so by choice. A woman dying without marriage is carried by men without a bier and interred with the face downwards, no funeral ceremonies being observed.

The negotiations for a regular marriage are carried on by the parents or guardians of the parties, the initiative being generally taken by the male's side. The astrologer is consulted and where the horoscopes are wanting, the stars corresponding to the first letters of the names of the parties according to a settled convention, are taken as representing the nativity of the parties. If they are pronounced to be suitable, a day is fixed by him and the contracting parties exchange betel-leaves with nuts as an earnest of their agreement, in the presence of the elders. The girl is given a present of a cloth and a feast is generally held. After this the girl cannot be given in marriage to another without the consent of the other party. This preliminary event is however non-essential and is often omitted or considerably shortened.

Ceremonies  
of marriage.

The ceremonies of marriage proper begin with *Devar-  
uta* or god's feast. Five new earthen pots painted red and white are brought from the potter's house and some date fruits, uncooked rice, and *dhall*, glass bangles and some other articles are placed in each of them, with an oil light in

each of the earthen dishes covering them as lids. These pots with a *kalasa* (i.e. a small metallic vessel with a cocoanut over it) are placed in a room set apart for the purpose and worshipped as representing the marriage deity. A dinner also is given, sheep or goats being specially killed for the occasion.

On the second day, *chappara* or marriage booth is constructed. This should have twelve posts of which one is called the *milk post* or marriage pillar and should be green wood of the mango or *Háludáru* tree. In the night, the bride's party repair to a place outside the town, where on a spot washed with cowdung water, they place cooked food on three plantain leaves as an offering, and consecrate it with water dyed red with saffron and lime, and return home without looking back.

On the third day, the bride and bridegroom are bathed in their respective houses. They are seated on plank seats and are besmeared with saffron, and the ceremony is known as ಅರಣಿ ಕಾಸ್ಟ್ರಿ or the saffron ceremony or ಮದವಣಿ ಕಾಸ್ಟ್ರಿ or bride or bridegroom ceremony.

The fourth is the chief day of the ceremony. Early in the morning the bridegroom is brought to the bride's house. He is made to sit by the side of the bride. The village barber comes and pares the nails of the bride and bridegroom. Then the couple are given a bath called *maíe níru* in Kannada and *tódu níllu* in Telugu. They stand one stooping over the other, and some married women pour water from four vessels. After this the bridegroom is sent out with a party to a place outside the village and sits under a tree. From there a procession of the people of his party go to the bride's house, taking with them in a bamboo box jewels and cloths intended for her and other sundry articles such as rice, fruit and other edible articles, which they present to the bride. Then her party go in procession led by a married woman carrying a *kalasa* in her hand. They in their turn bring to the bridegroom cloths, toe-rings, *blashinga* or the marriage coronet and other presents. The bridegroom puts on all these things and holding a dagger is taken to the marriage booth. The two parties meet near the marriage pavilions and a show of resistance is offered by each party throwing half-pounded rice (called ಎದುರಕ್ಕಿ) at the other. The bridegroom is conducted to the marriage dais and is made to stand there. In the meantime the bride is

decorated and is brought to the pandal with the *bhāshinga* and placed standing opposite the bridegroom with a cloth held as a screen between them. The *Purohit* is then called in, and the bride and bridegroom throw on each other's head some cummin seed and jaggory, the girl if small in stature being held up by her maternal uncle or other near relative.

The *tali*\* is touched by all those present, and the bridegroom with the countenance and blessing of the men assembled, ties it round the neck of the bride. Both the bride and the bridegroom tie the *kankana*† to their wrists and stand facing each other. Their hands are joined together and hold a cocoanut on which milk is poured first by the parents of the bride, and then by those of the bridegroom, and then by the whole assembly.

The married couple then sit side by side with the fringes of their cloths tied together. Some elderly married women besmear them with saffron and put over them *sése*, that is rice from both their hands first on the knees, then on the shoulders and then on the heads of the happy couple. The assembly then disperses after the distribution of *Pan-supari*.

In the evening the couple are shown the star called Arundhati.‡

Another ceremony that takes place that day, is that of partaking of *anna* or common meal. Two or three persons from both sides sit together and eat food from a common dish to indicate the union of both the parties.

On the last day called the *Nagavali* day, the *kankana* or wrist thread is taken off and *puja* is made to what is called *Simhasana* (or seat) and to a heap of arecanut and betel-leaves and the latter articles distributed to the assembly. A certain order is observed in *tambula*-giving: Kannayya (the eponymous hero), Valmiki and the household deity are named first and then the local caste head (*Katte Mane Yajaman*) and the convener (or beadle), and then the others of the assembly get the leaves in turn.

\* The small gold disc worn by a married woman as a symbol of the married state.

† This is a twisted thread of black and white wool, with a turmeric root and an iron-ring tied to it.

‡ Arundhati is the wife of Vasishta, the sage, and is believed to be in the constellation of stars known as the Great Bear.



The next two days are employed in complimentary visits and feasting among the two parties.

#### Expenses.

The bride's price or *tera* in Kannada, and *oli* (ಅಲಿ) in Telugu, is Rs. 12. But a discount of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Rs. is allowed if asked for, except when a widower marries a maid, when the full amount of *tera* namely Rs. 12, and sometimes even a *Maddu* (ಮದ್ದು) of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Rs. more is levied.

Marriage expenses in a family of moderate means amount to the bride's party to Rs. 30 ; the bridegroom's party incur about Rs. 100, to be spent on jewels, *tera* and feeding expenses. There is no particular feeling that the present expenditure is in any way exorbitant ; and no movement in favor of reduction is discernible or indeed called for.

#### Puberty.

When a girl first shows signs of womanhood, she is considered impure for three days, and does not come in contact with the other members of the family. She cannot use the metal plate for eating her meal which is placed on leaves for her. She bathes on the fourth day and the washerman supplies her with a fresh washed cloth. A shed of green leaves (generally of Margosa), is put up on an auspicious day, in which the girl remains apart for three nights getting a particularly rich food consisting of cocoanut, gingelly, pulses and jaggory, the while. She is exhibited in the evenings seated, dressed and decorated, in the company of married women who congregate for the show. Songs are sung and saffron and *kunkuma* and *pan-supari* are distributed to all the visitors. During this period the girl is kept awake at nights and is allowed to sleep only in day time, for fear that some evil spirit (which prowls about only in the dark) might take hold of her.

Intimation of the event is sent by the village washerman to the parents of the husband of such girl if she is already married, and it is considered the correct thing for the husband and wife beginning to live together within sixteen days. If the girl should happen to be unmarried, they try to get her married within the year of her attaining this age. They have a saying that a third head should not appear in the year of marriage, and so where the girl that is married is already of an age to live in her husband's company, the common living is put off for at least three months.

Widow marriage is allowed and generally practised but the form differs considerably from the regular marriage, and is styled union or *kudike* or the giving of a cloth to wear (ಕುಡಿಕೆ) or the tying of a tali. Widow marriage.

The ceremony is simple and generally comes off in the evening. The match as may be expected is as a rule settled by the consent of the parties and in most cases is preceded by a *de facto* union. The head and others of the caste assemble in front of the woman's house who comes out after having had a bath. The new husband presents her with a new cloth which she puts on. The Yajman to whom their intention is formally announced gives his sanction to the union. Thereafter the husband ties the *tali* which is the essential and the binding portion of the ceremony. A fine called *Kannayyana Kanike* (ಕನ್ನಯ್ಯನ ಕಾಣಿಕೆ) is levied from the man. *Pan-supari* is distributed and a feast is held afterwards. The same form is observed in the case of divorced women remarrying, and of an unmarried girl who has clandestinely conceived being married to her lover; sometimes this form is also resorted to in preference to the more regular one to save expense.

A woman married in this form has certain disabilities. She is not allowed to take part in the ceremonies of a regular marriage and is not, allowed even to enter the marriage *pandal*. She cannot carry the *kalasa* on any auspicious day. Her issue for two or three generations at least are deprived of the privileges of regular marriage. The *kudike* marriage section is kept separate, and in some places becomes so defined that these disabilities continue to attach to it for generations together.

With regard to the right of inheritance, as soon as a widow is remarried, she becomes divested of her rights to the previous husband's property and even her children continue in his family. This is of course compensated for by the acquisition of title to her second husband's property.

A widow cannot marry any one belonging to her first husband's *gotra* or division; much less therefore his elder or younger brother.

Loss of caste and adultery are good grounds for divorce. The aggrieved party, generally the husband, complains to the caste Yajman regarding the conduct of his partner and obtains his sanction for divorce in Divorce.

the caste assembly who fully enter into the details and find out which party is to blame. If the charge is made out against the wife, the husband tears her *tali* in token of separation and gets back the jewels which he might have given her during their conjugal life. He has to pay a fine to the caste.

The woman thus divorced is married in *kudike* form, to another (generally her paramour) who pays to the previous husband, the *tera* amount and the expenses of the marriage, and has also to pay a fine to the caste and stand the expense of feeding the castemen. It is said that adultery on the part of the husband is also a good reason for divorce and the husband in this case gets back neither the *tera* amount nor the marriage expenses.

#### Adultery.

If the married woman is guilty of adultery with a man of the same or a higher caste it can be expiated for at the option of the husband by payment of a small fine to the caste.

#### Dedication of Basavis.

The practice of making 'Basavis'\* of women obtains in this caste. The reasons that lead a parent to take this step are generally one of the following:—When there are no male children, the eldest daughter may be converted to a *Basavi*, when she remains permanently in her father's house, inherits the property and in all possible respects takes the place of a son. This may be done in accordance with a vow taken when the girl is afflicted with any dangerous illness, this conversion into a *Basavi* being, in opposition to all civilized notions, regarded as a dedication to God's service.

The dedication of *Basavi* is made by a ceremony which, as far as possible, resembles a marriage. The *Chappi-ra* (marriage pavilion) with 12 pillars is erected, a procession goes to a temple where the girl is seated by the side of a dagger and the *tali* (marriage emblem) tied to her by the *Purohit* or by a maternal uncle or maternal uncle's son. A feast is given to the castemen; and after three days the girl is free to take to her bed any man who is not of a lower caste than her own. The first person who receives

---

\* Near Kurubatti Mailari (ಕುರುಬತ್ತಿ ಮೈಲಾರಿ) temple, it is said that *Basavis* are dedicated in a large number on the day of God's marriage. (ವಿಶ್ವೇಶ್ವರನ ವಿವಾಹ). The ceremony is very simple. Girls are brought to the temple after bathing and in front of it *kankanas* and *talis* are tied to them. They have to sleep that night in the temple.

her favors has generally to pay her father the expenses incurred by him for making her a Basavi. Her issue become legitimate and are entitled to a share of their grandfather's property. For purposes of marriage, the issue of such Basavi are as eligible as those of the regular marriage division.

Besides these, who are known as born Basavis (*puttu basavi*, ಪುಟ್ಟುಬಸವಿ), there is yet another class of public women called Kulam Biddalu (ಕುಲಂಬಿಡ್ಡಲು) or children of the caste who are dedicated as follows:—

A widow even with issue and a divorced woman may be made children of the caste after paying a fine to the caste and standing the expense of a feast according to her means. She asks for permission formally at the meeting of the caste men, who as a token of consent give her a handful of the food prepared for the feast which she partakes of along with them. She has thereafter the license to share her bed with strangers (not of an inferior caste) as a *Basavi* has. The chief distinction between the two is that the issue of a *Basavi* are regarded as legitimate for all purposes while those of a daughter of the caste, though legitimate, rank only as the issue of a '*Kudike*' or conventional marriage.

From the above, it may be inferred that sexual license before marriage is not visited with any condign punishment. When an unmarried girl becomes pregnant, she will be married to her paramour in *kudike* form if he is of the same caste. If he would not have her or is of a higher caste, a fine will be levied and she will be made a child of the caste, but if the paramour is of lower caste she loses her caste.

In cases of regular marriages no courtship is known, and the parents of the parties bring about the connection. But the *kudike* marriages are as a rule by courtship and consent of the parties. The average age of the boy to marry may be taken as about eighteen.

The dead among them are buried except such as are afflicted with leprosy or other incurable cutaneous diseases, whose bodies are burnt.

Death and  
funeral  
ceremonies.

On the death of a person, the body is washed and wrapped up in a new cloth. Two new earthen pots are brought, and in one of them a small quantity of rice is

cooked in front of the house. But this ceremony is very often dispensed with. The body is placed on a bier made of bamboo or *Kalli* (*Euphorbia Tirukalli*). Betel-leaves and nuts are crushed and the paste is put in the mouth of the dead body. The relatives and friends of the deceased put rice in the eyes of the deceased's body and sometimes beat their mouths. After this, the body is carried by four persons to the burial ground, the chief mourner heading the procession with fire in one hand and the pot with the cooked rice in the other. As soon as the carriers and mourners pass away, a woman in the house, if present, a widow, sprinkles cowdung water on the place where the body had been kept and cleans it. Half the way, the body is kept on the ground and balls of cooked rice are thrown around the body. It is then carried straight to the burial ground. By this time, a Mádiga of the village will have dug a grave ready, for which labor a small fee is paid. The body is carried round the grave three times and is then lowered into it. The bier is taken out, together with any jewels which the deceased might have worn at the time of death. The body is then laid on the back with the head to the South and the grave is closed in. A small mound is raised on the ground, and four quarter-anna pieces are buried, on the four corners of it. Another anna is placed on the grave for *kádupapa* (ಕಾಡುಪಾಪ) and is intended to be the price of the ground taken up for the grave, and this is taken by the Holeya of the village. Thereafter the chief mourner, with an earthen pot filled with water, is made to go round the grave three times, and at the end of each turn, a stone is thrown at the vessel by some by-stander, so as to make a hole. With the water thus leaking he comes three rounds and then breaks the vessel on the grave with his back turned towards it and goes away without looking back. The chief mourner and the persons that carried the body wash themselves in a tank or river and return home in wet cloths. By this time, the house has been cleaned and on the spot where the deceased expired, has been kept a light on a winnow (ವೊಲ) and an *Yakka* twig, which the party must see before they go to their houses.

If the deceased is only a child or unmarried girl, no ceremony is observed and the body is carried in the arms to the burial place and interred.

On the third day, a ceremony called ಕೂಳುನೀರುಹಾಕುವದು— (putting food and water to the deceased) takes place. The chief mourner with other castemen takes some rice and

vegetables to the burial ground and serves them on the grave in a plantain leaf. The party withdraw to a distance expecting the crows to come and eat the food. When the crows have eaten it, they go to the tank or river, bathe and return home.

No further ceremony is observed till the 12th day. On that day the whole house is whitewashed. The chief mourner as well as all the *Dayadas* (agnates) have a bath.

A Brahman Purohit is called for purifying the house with holy water. Then a party go to the burial ground and on the grave are served up various dishes of food prepared for the purpose. The chief mourner gets his head shaved. After bathing in the river, the party go to the temple and return home. All the agnate and other relations are invited and treated to a feast. This day gifts of cows, shoes, umbrellas and other things are given in charity to Brahmans, their number depending upon the means of the family.

In the case of the death of an unmarried girl or a child, on the 3rd day some milk and edibles are placed on the ground and no further ceremony is observed.

The period of pollution, in the case of adults, is 12 days and in the case of children, 3 days. During this period, the near agnates do not put on the caste mark, or eat any sweet substance or drink milk. They should not enter other's houses, much less touch them.

These men do not perform *sraddhas*; but on the new-moon day in the month of *Bhadrapada* and on the new year's day, they make *puja* in the names of their deceased ancestors. They instal a *Kalasa* in the house, place near it new cloths, burn frankincense and offer prayers to it. They invite their castemen to a dinner.

Outsiders belonging to any recognized higher castes are, though of course rarely, admitted into the Beda caste, a formal ceremony being observed for the purpose. The headmen of two or three *Kattemanes* or caste guilds as well as other castemen are assembled, due notice being given of the purpose of the meeting. Then the person who wishes to be admitted comes to the assembly and prostrating himself before it, begs that he be admitted into the caste. A consultation is held and is sometimes prolonged for two or three days during which time, the members are fed at the expense of the applicant. A fine together with

Admission  
of outsiders.

a *hana* or 4 annas as Kannayya's tax (devoted to the temple of that idol) is levied from the neophyte who is purified with the five products of the cow, his tongue being slightly branded with heated gold. He is also made to drink holy water from a temple. Then the castemen sit down to a feast given at his expense, at which he has to receive a morsel from each of the elders before the feeding begins and partake of the food thus collected with the permission of the assembly which is given in a set formula that there is no longer any impediment (*dōsha*).

Such perversion from higher castes is generally due to the man having illicit relation with some woman of the caste. Such a recruit becomes a member of the caste for all practical purposes, and marries the woman, however, in an inferior marriage, the stigma of which may stick on to his descendants for two or three generations.

**Law of inheritance.**

They follow ordinarily the Hindu Law of inheritance. *Illāṭam* (*Manevāṭatana* in Kannada) or affiliation of the son-in-law is practised—and such son-in-law gets a share equal to that of a son. A Basavi daughter also gets an equal share with her brothers, and when she dies, if the family is undivided, her sons step into her place and are entitled to her share. A destitute sister is generally given a cow and a cloth every year.

**Social status.**

The Bédas are generally considered as low caste people, and therefore Brahmans and other *Dwija* or twice-born classes do not touch them. But they can draw water in the village well, the village barber shaves them and pares their nails and the washerman washes their clothes.

**Food.**

In the matter of eating meat, they are allowed great latitude. Even jackals and some of the lizard tribe are allowed to them; and though beef is permitted and indeed cannot be refused when offered at a feast, many of them seem to draw a line there, and do not eat cows and buffaloes. The lowest well-known caste with which the Bedas eat is Kuruba and only Agasa (washerman) Madiga (village cobbler) and Holeyas eat in Beda's houses.

They employ Brahmans for auspicious ceremonies such as marriage, and these Brahmans do not suffer in their status by such employment. But for funeral or minor ceremonies, Dasaris and Satanis are called in. But on the 12th day after death, the Brahman *purohit* has to

cleanse the house with water purified by the recitation of holy words.

The Bedas belong to what is called *Nine Phanas* Tribal constitution. or left hand section. They have a caste council at which their tribal disputes are settled. It is presided over by a headman, who has under him a servant or a beadle known as *Kondigaddu* (ಕಂಡಿಗದ್ದು). The jurisdiction of a headman is called *Kattemane*, and any matter affecting the caste such as admission of an outsider, *kudike* marriage, dedication of a girl as a Basavi or a *Kulambidda* comes before him for settlement. Any transgression of the caste rules is punished by him. And for all this service, he receives *maryáde* (ಮರ್ಯಾದೆ) or the conventional fee and a special *támbúla*. When however a dispute of a very serious nature affecting not only one *Kattemane* but several, has to be settled, *Yajamans* of several *Kattemanes* are collected. There is at the head of several *Kattemanes*, a *Dora* or chief whose presence is necessary only in cases of great importance. In marriage and other occasions, the *Dora* or chief, also gets a *támbúla* with a small fee.

They are Vaishnavas and worship Vishnu under the Religion. different names of Venkataramana, Chennarayana, Narasimha and others. Some of them have also Siva as their family God and go on pilgrimage to Nanjangud, the chief place of Siva worship in the State. Their *guru* or spiritual leader, is a Srivaishnava Brahmin who pays occasional visits, gives them *Chakrankitam* (branding) and holy water and receives his fees. Among the minor goddesses worshipped by Bedas are Gangamma, Mariamma, Kavellemma, Lakkamma, Payamma, Odisilamma, Marigamma, Durgamma, and Challapuramma.

Gangamma (river or water God) is generally worshipped either at the riverside or near a tank or other reservoir of water. A place is selected and cleaned with water. Three or five or seven stones are set up on which saffron is put on. Incense is burnt, a new cloth is kept near the images, and cocoanut is broken. After the worship, the cloth may be worn by any female member in the house. This worship is specially confined to women, and no bloody sacrifices are offered. The other Goddesses are worshipped some in groves, and some in temples, permanently dedicated to them. Sacrifices of sheep, goats and fowls are very freely offered and partaken of by the



devotees. Fridays and Tuesdays are the days set apart for the worship, but the worship of Gangamma is always confined to a Monday.

To Mári, the village Goddess, a he-buffalo is sacrificed. This worship, though performed by this caste, is done at the instance of the whole village. In the central portion of the village, a temporary shed is erected and in it an image generally of some grotesque or hideous form is installed. The whole village population, except Brahmans, Jains and Lingayats, carry their offerings to the Goddess and the more superstitious of these excepted persons also sometimes send votive offerings. In the night, a he-buffalo is sacrificed. The remains of the animal are then divided among the 12 members comprising the village corporation. As most of them however do not eat buffalo flesh, their shares are taken by the village cobbler or Madiga.

*Munisvara* (ಮುನಿಸ್ವರ) is another object of common worship, not only among the Bedas, but also among other lower castes. He is believed to be the soul of a saint who lived at a time beyond memory and is said to reside in trees. Under a tree, which is said to be the dwelling place of this spirit, a small temple, hardly big enough for one to get in, is built and two or three stones installed therein in the name of this spirit. Sometimes bells are tied to the branches, and when they are shaken by the wind, the sounds are attributed to the sylvan deity. He is considered as an evil spirit and as always waiting for an opportunity to enter the body of persons passing near and bring on sickness to the victim. He is much dreaded and to propitiate him, occasional offerings of sheep, goats, fowls and cooked articles, are made. The animals sacrificed are eaten by the votaries but other articles such as cooked rice, plantains, &c., are left under the tree. They also name their children after this deity.

The spirits of such diseases as, cholera and smallpox, are also worshipped. Serpent worship is also common among them, the belief being that by this skin disease and the diseases of the eye, ulceration in the ear, are cured.

Omens.

In common with the other castes of similar status, they believe in omens\*, and the following are a few of them.

---

\* Omens are not a specially 'caste' institution. They are a matter of general belief and observance with persons who have not passed a certain stage of mental culture.

Good omens—A crow, a bird called *hálu-hakki* (ಹಾಲುಹಕ್ಕಿ) or a crow pheasant (ಸಂಬಾರಹಕ್ಕಿ) passing from left to right when starting on a journey ; a kite (*garuda* or Brahmin kite) passing from right to left ; toddy pots, dead body, or flowers being carried, or a married woman coming, from the opposite direction.

Among bad Omens may be mentioned, the crossing of the birds named above in a contrary direction, a serpent crossing the path, or the meeting with a barber or a carrier of fire-wood when setting out on any business.

Belief in oracles and witchcraft is general.

They follow their original profession of hunting in the jungles only nominally, and have settled down to agriculture as their chief occupation. As is the case with all agricultural classes in the State, many are petty raiyatwari occupants of lands, paying revenue direct to Government ; while many cultivate the lands of others as tenants on "*vāra*," generally paying half the produce to the superior holder. The system of joint-ownership of village lands is not in force anywhere in the State. Some who are village watchmen known as *Talaris* have some free lands (service inam) or get a recognized quantity of grain from each raiyat at the harvest time. Several of them are landless day labourers, earning wages varying from two to five annas a day. There are no nomadic cultivators in the caste. Occupation.

They have many beliefs, some superstitious and some empirical, in regard to the agricultural operations, which however are common to almost all of the cultivating classes in the State, and which are embodied in popular sayings, such for example as the following. The first ploughing of the season must be commenced on a Sunday or a Thursday. No ploughing should be done on Mondays. Seed should not be sown on Mondays and Tuesdays. There are some popular sayings about the efficacy of rains in certain specified seasons. Agricultural superstitions.

A scare crow (generally an old earthen pot with eyes and other marks of the face roughly daubed over) placed on the top of cross sticks dressed with rags, is often set up in fields with the double object of frightening away birds and beasts, and averting the evil eye.

When undertaking any important work such as the sinking of a well or building a house, it is usual to worship

'*Ganesha*' made of cowdung, in the form of a cone. Sometimes a goat or sheep or a fowl is sacrificed on such occasions.

If an eclipse of the Sun or the Moon occurs when the crops are standing, sometimes the owners of the fields bathe and sacrifice a sheep or goat to the field. Boiled rice is mixed with the blood of the sacrificed animal and scattered all over the field.

**Dress.**

There is nothing peculiar in their dress. Men generally put on short drawers reaching to the knees -- sometimes only a loin cloth. Their women wear *Sire* like other Sudras without dividing the skirt, but such of them as are not Basavis do not wear bodices. In the larger places, there is however an improvement and family women also use this article of dress.

---

## APPENDIX

(Names of *Kulas*)

- 1 *Mandala* (ಮಂಡಲ)=Herd of cattle
- 2 *Yanumala* (ಯನುಮಲ)=Buffalo
- 3 *Muchchala* (ಮುಚ್ಚಲ)
- 4 *Sákéla* (ಸಾಕೇಲ)
- 5 *Kámagétula* (ಕಾಮಗೇತುಲ)
- 6 *Chinnamagala* (ಚಿನ್ನಮಗಲ)
- 7 *Manegala* (ಮನೇಗಲ)
- 8 *Pegadapótula* (ಪೆಗಡಪೋತುಲ)
- 9 *Chinnamákila* (ಚಿನ್ನಮಾಕಿಲ)
- 10 *Peddámákila* (ಪೆದ್ದಮಾಕಿಲ)
- 11 *Chímala* (ಚೀಮಲ) Ants
- 12 *Gujjala* (ಗುಜ್ಜಲ)
- 13 *Sibbila* (ಸಿಬ್ಬಿಲ)
- 14 *E'ḍu kondala* (ಏಡುಕೊಂಡಲ)=Seven hills
- 15 *Gangaváramu* (ಗಂಗವಾರಮು)=Name of a place
- 16 *Purvalu gampalu* (ಪುವ್ವಲು ಗಂಪಲು)=Flower baskets
- 17 *Pótulu* (ಪೋತುಲು)=He-buffaloes
- 18 *Mallelu* (ಮಲ್ಲೆಲು)=Jassamin
- 19 *Ankéla* (ಅಂಕೇಲ)
- 20 *Settila* (ಸೆಟ್ಟಿಲ)
- 21 *Muchchatla* (ಮುಚ್ಚಟ್ಟಲ)
- 22 *Nallula* (ನಲ್ಲಲ)=Bugs
- 23 *Minugala* (ಮಿನುಗಲ)
- 24 *Panyala* (ಪಯ್ಯಲ)
- 25 *Gútamu* (ಗೂಟಮು)=Pegs
- 26 *Jemmudu* (ಜಮ್ಮಡು)
- 27 *Yeddula* (ಯದ್ದುಲ)=Oxen
- 28 *Jerrébotula* (ಜೆರೇ ಪೋತುಲ)=A centipede
- 29 *Súrya* (ಸೂರ್ಯ)=The Sun
- 30 *Chendra* (ಚಂದ್ರ)=The Moon
- 31 *Bangáru* (ಬಂಗಾರು)=Gold

- 32 *Bhúcha kra* (ಭೂಚಕ್ರ) The Globe  
 33 *Káchi kaḍla* (ಕಾಚಿಕ್‌ಡ್ಲ) = A kind of grass  
 34 *Hurali* (ಹುರಳಿ) = Horse gram  
 35 *Narane* (ನರಣೆ) = Italian millet  
 36 *Gannérle* (ಗನ್ನೇರ್ಲ್) = Sweet-scented oleander  
 37 *Maddala* (ಮದ್ದಲ)  
 38 *Mungala* (ಮುಂಗಲ)  
 39 *Gaḍḍabárle* (ಗಡ್ಡಬಾರ್ಲ್) = Crowbar  
 40 *Gajjala* (ಗಜ್ಜಲ)  
 41 *Jánamala* (ಜಾನಮಲ)
-

(Preliminary Issue.)

# The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.

---



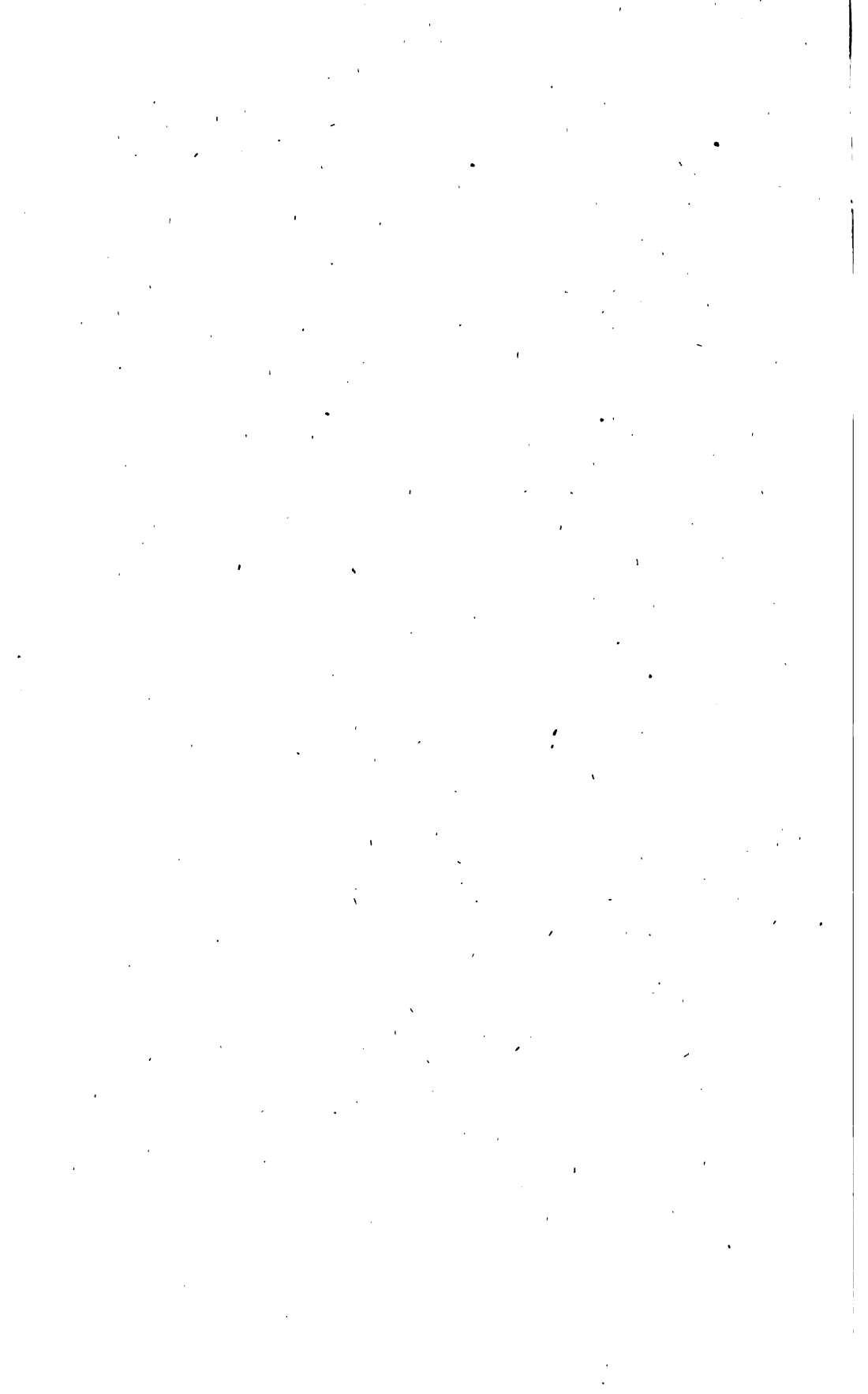
BY

H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.

---

BANGALORE:  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS  
1906.

*Price 4 Annas.*



(Preliminary Issue.)

**The**  
**Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

---

**IV.**  
**AGASA CASTE.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

---

BANGALORE:  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS  
1906.

*Price 4 Annas.*

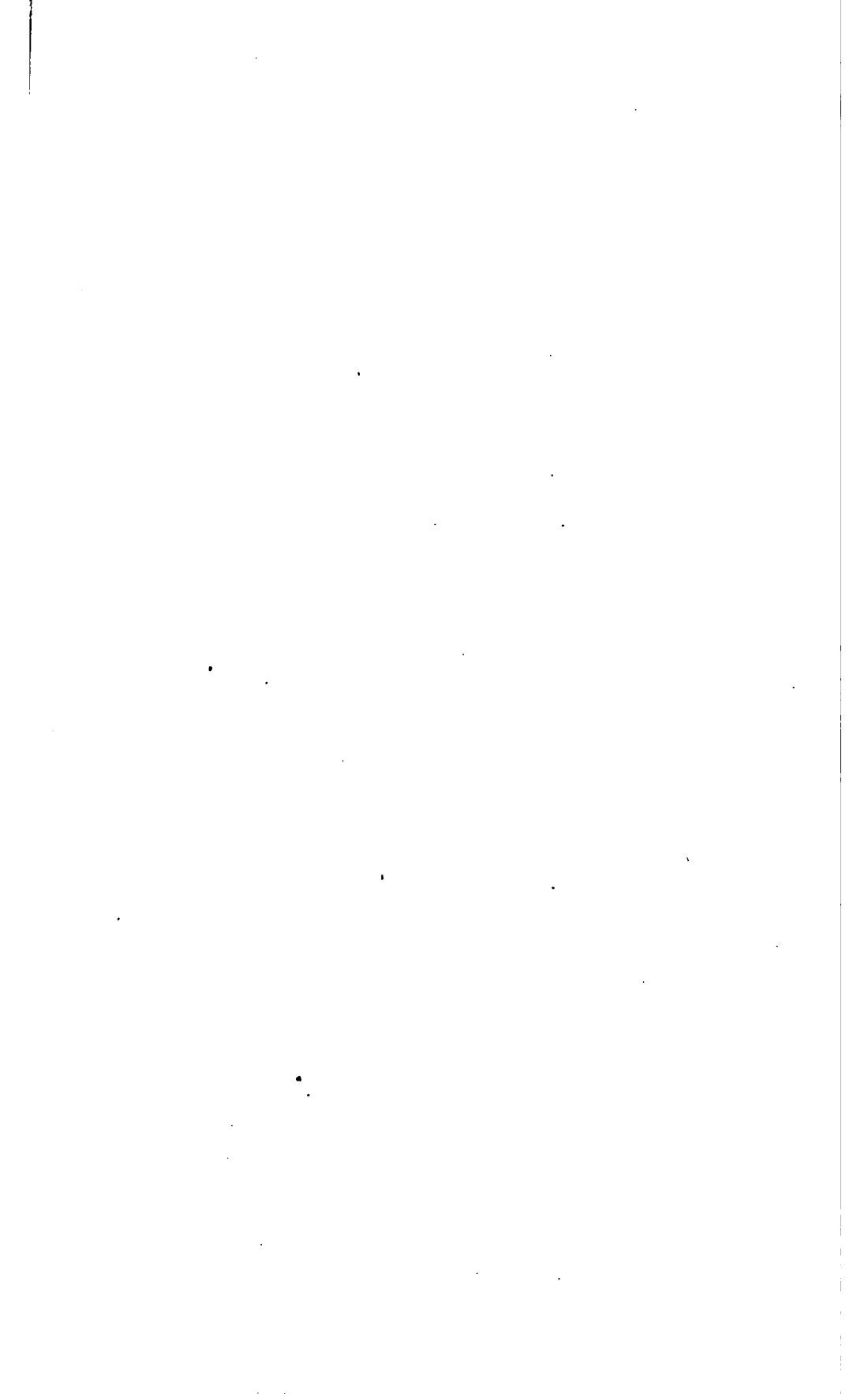




## CONTENTS.

---

	PAGE.
Name and number                   ...                   ...	1
Language                   ...                   ...	2
Origin                   ...                   ...	
Divisions                   ...                   ...	3
Birth ceremonies ...                   ...	4
Adoption                   ...                   ...	5
Marriage                   ..                   ...	5—10
Puberty                   ...                   ...	10
Widow marriage ...                   ...	11
Divorce                   ...                   ...	12
Death and funeral ceremonies ...                   ...	12—14
Social status                   ...                   ...	14
Admission to caste...                   ..                   ...	14
Inheritance                   ...                   ...	15
Superstitions                   ...                   ...	15
Personal habits                   ...                   ...	15
Occupation                   ...                   ...	15—16
Religion                   ...                   ...	16—18
Miscellaneous                   ...                   ...	18—19



## AGASAS.

Agasas, or as they are sometimes called Asagas, are the washerman class found all over the State. According to the last Census (1901), their population was 90,962, the sexes being nearly equal in numbers. About a fourth of them are found in the Mysore District; Shimoga and Tumkur contribute each an eighth of the population, followed by Bangalore with almost the same number.

The name by which the caste is most commonly known is Agasa (ಅಗಸ), Asaga (ಅಸಗ) being another form of the word. Madivala (ಮದಿವಾಳ) or Viraghata Madivala (ವಿರಘಟ ಮದಿವಾಳ) is the name which they apply to themselves. They also call themselves, though less usually, Mallige Mādevi Vakkalu (ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆ ಮಾದೇವಿ ಬಕ್ಕಲು) or devotees of Mallige Mādevi.

Chákalavandlu, Vannán and Dhóbi are Telugu, Tamil and Hindustani equivalents of the Kannada name Agasa. In Sanskrit the caste is known by the term Rajaka (ರಜಕ).

*Ayya*, *Appa* and *Anna* are the usual titles affixed to the names; sometimes they add the term *Setti* as their name ending and their yajaman or headman has the title of *Gauḍa*.

The meaning of the term Agasa is obscure. Mr. Stuart, Census Superintendent, Madras, in his Report for 1891, says that the word is derived from *Agasi* said to mean a turban, a meaning which could not be verified. The term *Agasa* seems to be a later form of *Asaga*. *Madivala* means a person who makes cloths *madi* or clean. *Viraghata Madivala* is applied to the caste on account of their supposed descent from *Virabhadra* (ವಿರಭದ್ರ) the son of Siva. They are styled also *Mallige Mādevi Vakkalu*, as they are the *Vakkalu* or devotees of a goddess known by that name. *Rajaka* means a dyer of clothes, corresponding to the Tamil name *Vannan* which means the same thing.

**Language.** They speak both Kannada and Telugu according to their place of residence.

**Origin.** The following story is given to account for the origin of the caste. On the occasion of Daksha's sacrifice, Virabhadra got his clothes blood-stained when killing Daksha and his companions. He appeared before Siva and thoughtlessly allowed his impure garments to come in contact with the great god. He was then doomed to fall from his high state, and condemned to expiate his sin by washing the clothes of Basava and his followers in Kalyan. This was the washerman named Máchayya who is described as a follower of Basava, in the 21st Chapter of the Basava Purāṇa.

There is another and a more childish story current about their origin. Five goddesses, Sarasvati, Lakshmi and Parvati, consorts of the three members of the Triad, and Sachi and Chháyá, wives of Indra and Súrya, when in their monthly sickness, felt a difficulty in getting some one to wash their clothes.\* Just then they saw a woman coming towards them with a boy, and asked her to do this work, promising to give whatever she desired as her remuneration. The woman took the clothes to the sea in a bundle and finding no stone slab to wash the clothes on, cut off the head of the boy, used his blood as colouring matter, eyes as indigo, the flesh as fuller's-earth, the back as a slab, legs as fuel and forearms as ironing rods and the abdomen as the pot. She obtained fire by praying to Agni, the god of fire, and thus cleaning the clothes, she took them back to the divine ladies. They were naturally gratified at the result, but not finding the boy with her, they questioned the woman, who reluctantly informed them of the use she had made of his mortal frame. Highly touched by the act of devotion, they told her to call him by name, and when she did so, lo! the boy stood smiling before her. The gods of the Triad, pleased on hearing this, promised her a further boon, which she formulated as knee-deep water (for washing), ankle-deep food (as wages) and a monopoly of washing clothes. The Agasas are the progeny of this original washer woman.

\*Washing clothes worn during such period is considered a very low kind of service; and when people wish to exhibit their contempt for others, especially for washermen, they call the polluted clothes.

considered a very  
their contempt  
in washers o

Basava is said to have converted some of the washer-men living in Kalyan into Lingayatas, of which persuasion there are found some men in this caste at present.

The caste, as found in the State, has two main endogamous divisions, based upon the language they speak, Kannada Agasas and Telugu Agasas. Divisions.

There are also found in small numbers Mahratta and Hindustani Agasas with their name endings of *Singh* and *Rao*, but they are immigrants of quite a recent date.

These main divisions neither intermarry nor eat together, and the Telugu section is again divided into following subdivisions\* which are endogamous. They are:—*Murikinaḍi* (ಮುರಿಕಿನಾಟಿ), *Pasupundi* (ಪಸುಪುನಾಟಿ), *Asādi* (ಆಸಾದಿ), *Edumōllu* (ಎಡುಮೋಳ್ಳು) and *Paraharu Panam vanḍu* (ಪರಹರನಂವಾಂಡು), that is, those of the sixteen *phanas*.

It is stated that where marriages of widows are allowed, the offspring of such unions form a distinct division with which the others do not enter into relations of matrimony; but it is likely that the distinction is obliterated in one or two generations.

They have no exogamous divisions. In some places, the identity of the several families is preserved by their allegiance to the same family god, and the memory of their relationship is kept up by the annual or periodical celebration of worship in honour of their tutelary deities. Some have divisions called after a well-known ancestor in each family (ಮನೆತನ), such as Lakkappaṇa Kaḷayyana Manetana (ಲಕ್ಕಪ್ಪನ ಕಾಳಯ್ಯನ ಮನೆತನ), Jogi Siddayyana Manetana (ಜೋಗಿ ಸಿದ್ಧಯ್ಯನ ಮನೆತನ), Kempa Lingayyana Manetana (ಕೆಂಪ ಲಿಂಗಯ್ಯನ ಮನೆತನ). But these distinctions, however, get lost in course of time by the common ancestry being forgotten or the worship of a new god being taken up.†

They have no hypergamous divisions.

\* These divisions appear to be territorial in origin and require further investigation.

† A section of these carry on their professional work at night while others do so in the day time according to the custom of their families. But this distinction has no significance in their social relations.

A few people have returned the following as their exogamous divisions, namely, *Mugilu kula* (ಮುಗಿಲುಕುಲ); *Belli kula* (ಬೆಳ್ಳಿಕುಲ) and *Halu kula* (ಹಾಲುಕುಲ); and a few others *Kumbaloru* (ಕುಂಬಳೋರು) *Murugalloru* (ಮುರುಗಲ್ಲೋರು), *Hūvinavaru* (ಹೂವಿನವರು) *Khanḍagadavaru* (ಖಂಡಗದವರು); but this matter requires verification.

Birth ceremonies.

When a child is born, the mother is confined to a room with the child and is considered unclean for 4, 6 or 8 days, after which they are bathed and become fit to go into the inner house. The purification is done with some ceremony; married women seating the mother and child on a plank near a small pit made by the side of the house, smear the mother with turmeric and perform *arati*. This is called *Guṇi Sāstra* (pit ceremony).

Some of the castemen are entertained at a dinner, and the most elderly member of the caste present suggests the name to be given. The mother and the child are seated in front of a winnow placed back upwards on a spot purified with cowdung and streaked with three lines of red earth, to which *pūja* is made by burning incense and offering a broken cocoanut. The midwife applies a little butter with *baje* root in the baby's mouth, and calls it by the name decided upon. In some places, a number of children are invited to a dinner of *huggi*\* and after making a hearty meal of it, they are made to repeat the name to be given to the child. The child is first put into a swinging cradle on the evening of this day, married women invited for the occasion singing songs.

Koracha women are also sometimes consulted before the name is fixed upon. But generally, as in other castes, the name of the child is given after that of either a deceased ancestor or the family god. If after the name is given the child should get ill or suffer from other ailment, the first name is dropped and a new name given.

There are no names peculiar to the caste. Pet names, such as Appajee (ಅಪ್ಪಜೆ), Appayya (ಅಪ್ಪಯ್ಯ), Appoda (ಅಪ್ಪೋಡ), Chinna Papa (ಚಿನ್ನಪಾಪ), Puttasāmi (ಪುಟ್ಟಸಾಮಿ) &c., are in use. The following names are commonly found:—

Men	Women
Pāpa (ಪಾಪ)	Duggamma (ದುಗ್ಗಮ್ಮ)
Timma (ತಿಮ್ಮ)	Kariamamma (ಕರಿಯಮ್ಮ)
Obaliga (ಒಬಲಿಗ)	Muni† (ಮುನಿ)
Muniya (ಮುನಿಯ)	Timmi (ತಿಮ್ಮಿ)
Lenke (ಲೆಂಕೆ)	Venkaṭi (ವೆಂಕಟ)
Sotla (ಸೊತ್ತ)	Rāmi (ರಾಮಿ)

\* Rice and broken pulse cooked together with some spices added.

† Feminine names in Kannada and other Dravidian Languages end in *i* generally, and *amma* is added as an honorific suffix and means mother or mistress.

Names of base objects are sometimes given, such as Aḍavappa (ಅಡವಪ್ಪ desert man), Gudlappa (ಗುಡ್ಲಪ್ಪ, i.e., spade-man), Tippa (ತಿಪ್ಪ, i.e., manure heap), Kallappa (ಕಲ್ಲಪ್ಪ, i.e., stone man) and Javarāya (ಜವರಾಯ, i.e., god of death).

Adoption is allowed and practised. In general, brother's sons are selected by preference, but a brother cannot be taken in adoption.\* Adoption.

Polygamy is not prohibited but is rarely practised. Want of issue, bodily defect or incurable disease and want of additional hands for work, are the principal motives to induce a man to take more than one wife. Polyandry is unknown. Marriage.

Both infant and adult marriages are allowed and practised. A girl may even remain without marriage all her life-time; in such a case, she lives as a member of her father's family. But a woman without marriage is not considered fit to take part in ceremonies and when she dies, the funeral ceremonies performed are less formal than for a married woman. If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant, the parents are placed under a ban which can only be removed after her marriage in *Kudike* form to her paramour, if he be of the same caste. Should he be of a higher caste, he may either join her caste and marry her, or the parents have to pay a fine and give a dinner to the caste. The fault is then condoned, and the issue is regarded as being born in the caste. If an unmarried girl joins a man of a lower caste, she is discarded altogether from her community.

The prohibition to marry agnatic relations (known as belonging to the same family) is respected as long as the relationship can be traced; but as there are no exogamous names in vogue to keep up the recollection of the family, it is likely that the distinction gets lost in confusion in the course of two or three generations.

In marriages, *sódara* (meaning uterine) relationship, that is the relationship of maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter is preferred. Marriage with an elder sister's daughter is not only allowed, but it is specially favoured. Two sisters may be married either by one man or by uterine brothers. The other standard which they have in testing the eligibility of the match is that the boy and the girl should not, either actually or by analogy, be related to each other as parent and child or brother and sister. Marriage with younger sister's daughter is

---

\*The ceremony observed at the time of adoption is similar to that observed by the Kurubas as described in the account of that caste.



prohibited. A brother and sister of a family may marry a sister and brother respectively of another. Barring these limits, there are no prohibitions for marriage, based either on social status, local position or differences in religion or occupation.

To negotiate the marriage, the father of the boy goes to the house of the girl's father accompanied by some friends. He tells him: "We have come to eat rice and ghee in your house." After eating together, they talk over the matter and it is agreed that if other conditions (*Salavaji* ಸಲಾವಜಿ) are favourable, the match should take place. They call this *Voppu-vilya* (ಒಪ್ಪುವಿಳ್ಯ) or *tāmbūla* of agreement. This is followed by another preliminary ceremony called *Vilya-sastra* (ವಿಳ್ಯದಾಸ್ತ್ರ) ceremony of betel-leaves and nuts), also at the bride's place, to which the castemen and a Jangama are invited. Such business matters as the number and value of the jewels to be given to the girl, are then settled, and if both parties come to an agreement, a seat called Sangamesvara's Gaddige (ಸಂಗಮೇಶ್ವರನ ಗದ್ದಿಗೆ) is improvised, and the bell and spoon of the Chalavadi is placed thereon and *pūja* offered to it. The parties signify their agreement by exchange of *tāmbūla*. The new cloth brought by the bridegroom's father is presented to the girl, who puts on her *gala* dress, and sits on a plank in the assembly of the women. She is also presented with one of the jewels agreed to be given at her marriage, and flowers, fruit and other presents are placed in her garment. There is a dinner served at the end to all the persons assembled.

Marriage  
ceremonies.

Marriage proper may take place either at the girl's or the boy's house.

A day previous to the marriage, the bridegroom and his party arrive at the bride's place. They are met at some distance from the village, and are given jaggory water to quench their thirst. *Pan-supari* is distributed and then the party is led into the village and lodged in a house set apart for them.

The erection of the marriage pandal is the next event. It should have twelve pillars, that on the north-east corner being known as the *milk post* and being a branch of *Kulli* or of fig tree. In some places, a maternal uncle or other similar relative should cut this branch, while in others, it is sufficient if he is a man of the caste, born of parents regularly married. It is first deposited in some temple, and brought thence after *pūja*, and set up

in its place. The *pandal* has a canopy of washed clothes decorated with drawings in lime and saffron.

Women go to the potter's house to bring *Airane* (ಎರಣೆಗಳ), that is, pots painted outside with red earth and chunam in a variety of designs. The potter is presented with a *hara* (4 As. 8 p.), rice and other provisions. The pots are brought to the house and kept in a row on a bed of manure spread for the purpose in a room.

They then go to a well and, after making *pūja*, bring water for the marriage in some vessels, walking in procession on washed cloths\* spread along the road by one of their own caste. They have a general dinner after this in the marriage *pandal*. In some places (e.g., Davangere) the bride and the bridegroom visit in succession, the houses of their castemen in the place, at which they are besmeared with turmeric paste as a token of congratulation, and partake of some refreshments. The party go to a temple where they make *pūja* to the *bhāshinga* (marriage chaplet), and bring it home in state, under a moving cloth canopy.

On the second day early in the morning, the bride and the bridegroom both get their nails pared†, not by a barber but by one of their own caste. The ostensible reason given is that a barber should not enter the marriage *pandal*, but the real reason seems to be that barbers decline to do this service for them. As tit for tat, the Agasas do not hold torches during the marriages of barbers. After bath, the bridegroom decked in new clothes, goes attended by a band of musicians to a temple. About this time, a green twig of *Nérale* or *Basari* tree is cut by the maternal uncle of the bride, and taken in state to the marriage house, where it is tied to the *milk post*.

From the temple where the bridegroom is seated, some of his party go to the bride's house thrice. The first time they carry rice, jaggory, saffron and betel-leaves, and return leaving the things there. The second time, the new clothes meant for the bride are similarly delivered. On the third trip, the bridegroom himself goes carrying a dagger in his hand followed by his best man, and taking with him all the jewels intended for the bride. As the procession approaches the *pandal*, the bride's party make a show of resistance by pelting the bridegroom's party with rice, the compliment being duly returned by the latter.

\* Called in Kannada. *nademadi* (ನೆಡೆಮಡಿ), that is, washed cloths for walking on.

† This is called *Kāluguru Sāstra* (ಕಾಲುಗುರುಸಾಸ್ತ್ರ).

Then the bridegroom comes to the marriage dais, to which the bride is subsequently conducted. A screen is thrown between the two. Here the Purohit is called in. He is a Brahman in some places, a Jangama in some, while where neither is available, an elderly man of the caste conducts the ceremony. Rice, sesamum and cummin seed are put by the bride and the bridegroom on each other's heads, the screen is taken off and they garland each other. *Tàri* is tied by the bridegroom to the neck of the bride, and the union is completed.

This is followed by the tying of *kankaṇas*. Four metallic vessels are arranged in four corners, and round their necks a thread is passed three times. This is then cut into two halves and to each half is tied a turmeric root and a betel-leaf.

Lastly *dhàre* or the milk pouring ceremony takes place. The couple stand facing each other and keep their hands together holding a cocoanut, on which first the priest, then the parents of the couple, and lastly rest of the assembly, pour milk. During the time, the couple hold their hands alternately upon each other's. The milk thus poured in is caught in a tray held underneath their hands and ultimately thrown out on a Bilva tree or into a jasmine bush.

After this they sit side by side, with the ends of their garments knotted together, and each ties the *kankaṇa* (wrist-thread) to the other. They then rise and go round the *milk post* thrice and make *nāmaskāra* before the sacred pots. The assembly disperse after *tāmbūla*, and later on there is a general dinner.

The operative part of the ceremony is the tying of the *tāli*.

On the third day, the couple are anointed and bathed, and taken to an *Asvaththa* (*Ficus Religiosa* or the Peepul) tree, in procession, the bridegroom riding on a horse and the bride on a bull. They are seated side by side on a plank seat and their parents and other members of the congregation throw a handful of *Tumbe*\* flowers, this being a ceremony known as "*Tumbe Flower dhàre*." Then each party again ties a *kankaṇa* thread with a betel leaf attached, to the other's wrist.

In the afternoon, after dinner, the *Simhāsana pūja* takes place. A black *kambli* or blanket is done into eight folds and

---

\* *Tumbe* (ತುಂಬೆ) is a small herb (*Phlonis Indica*) the tiny white flowers of which, beautiful though devoid of smell, are believed to be a favourite of Siva, for whose worship they are largely employed in this part of India.

spread on a plank before the seat of the couple. This is called a *gaddige*. Betel-leaves are arranged in a circle on it, with areca nuts placed in a heap in the centre. Round the heap are kept lumps of \**Vibhuti* (ವಿಭೂತಿ) and the bell and the spoon (ಫೆಂಟೆ ಬಟ್ಟು), the insignia of the 18, Phana people is brought by the Chalavadi and kept on the *gaddige*. After the married couple make *pūja* to this *gaddige*, the betel-leaves and arecanuts, placed in the heap, are distributed, in the known order of precedence, to all the assembled persons. The Gauda or headman of the caste is paid one rupee, and the Chalavadi gets a *Ilana* (4 annas 8 pies) as their official fees.

On the fourth day, called *Nagarali*, the couple make *pūja* to the pillars of the pandal with the offerings of cooked rice and cakes. Their *kankanas* are taken off.

The next day, the milk post is removed after *pūja*, part of which consists of pouring on it some water in which a bit of gold and a piece of coral have been washed.†

After the marriage ceremonies are thus finished, the bridegroom is sent back to his native place with his wife who is accompanied by her parents or others of her nearest relatives. The party halt at the boy's place for three days and then return with the girl. If the girl has already attained puberty, she will be allowed to live with her husband after the lapse of 15 days from the close of the marriage,‡ no fresh ceremony being then observed except giving her the presents of fruits and other articles filled in the folds of her cloth, and a dinner to the caste.

The boy or his party has to pay a price for the bride, the amount varying in different localities, between Bride-price.

---

\* *Vibhuti* is the name of the sacred ashes got by carefully burning cowdung cakes, so as to give clean white ashes. All worshippers of Siva smear their foreheads and limbs with this as an emblem of their faith.

Brahmans take it out of the sacred fire used for daily sacrifices. Sometimes, especially by Lingayats, the ashes are made into smooth white balls mixed with some starch. The symbolical meaning is that the ashes represent the remains of carnal desires burnt in the fire of *gnana* and *bhakti* (knowledge and devotion). It is connected also with the story of Kama's burning by Siva, which story indeed symbolises the triumph of knowledge over the senses.

†This ceremony is known in the Vernacular as ಚಿನ್ನದನೀರು ಹವಳದನೀರು ಪುಡಿಹವಳದ, i.e., pouring of gold and coral water.

‡In some places a period of three months should elapse between the marriage and the consummation thereof. A few, however, put it off till the first *Gauri* feast after the marriage.

Rs. 12 and 24\*. A widower marrying a spinster pays an enhanced price in some places, while in other places, this is compounded for by the present of more jewels.

The amount of marriage expenses cannot be determined with any definiteness. It depends on the means of the parties, the place they live in and other considerations, and it may be taken as ranging between Rs. 20 and Rs. 50 to the bride's party and Rs. 100 and Rs. 200 to that of the bridegroom, the latter including also the value of the presents to the bride, which of course is not lost to the parties.

Puberty  
ceremonies.

When a girl attains puberty, she is kept outside, as impure, in the yard in a shed erected out of green leaves of either Indian fig or the jack fruit tree (ಅತ್ತಿ or ಹಲಸು), for three or five days, and every evening she is seated on a plank seat and presents of cocoanuts, plantains and other fruits are given to her, and *arati* performed by married women. The cloth worn by her at the time of attaining maturity will be given to a washerman of another family who has to wash her cloths and supply washed cloths to her every day during this period.

If the girl is already married, information of the event is sent to her husband either through the servant of the caste, called *hattara manushyu* (ಹತ್ತರ ಮನುಷ್ಯ) or through the girl's brother or any other casteman. The husband or his people have, in some places, to pay Rs. 10 styled *nerada hana* (puberty money) towards the expenses incurred by the father of the girl for the puberty ceremonies and for feeding the girl during the period. If the girl is not married at the time, the parents have a right to be paid this sum by the man who subsequently offers to marry her. When the girl is already married, the

---

\* In some places, e.g., Shimoga, the bridegroom gets Rs. 2 from his parents-in-law, styled *Mugadakai Honnu* (ಮುಗದಕೈಹೊನ್ನು).

† *Arati* is an important incident, though not a very essential part in all auspicious ceremonies. A flat metal dish is filled with water coloured red by means of *kunkuma* powder or turmeric and *chunam*, some grains of coloured rice are thrown into it, and the plate is held by two or sometimes more women, and waved before the chief actors in a marriage or other ceremony, just before they leave their stage. Songs are sung by women, the band if attending plays and Brahmins when present chant some *mantras* of grace and throw coloured rice on the actors by way of blessing.

The main object of the coloured water seems to be the warding off of the evil eye.

consummation takes place within the 16th day if possible, or on some later day.

Widow marriage is allowed and practised; but the husband must always be a widower. The ceremony is less solemn than the orthodox marriage, and is styled *tàlt* tying. It is performed always after sunset, and in the dark fortnights of the month; and it is not necessary to get a lucky day fixed for it by a Brahman. On the day of the marriage, the *yajamàn*, the *gauda* and other castemen assemble on invitation and the spoon and bell of the *Chalaraddi* are kept on an improvised seat (*Sangamésvara's Gaddige*). The woman is bathed either by widowed women or those who have been married a second time, and dressed in new clothes given to her by her lover. She puts on silver and glass bangles, and is conducted into the assembly by widowed women. After obtaining the formal permission for the union of the *yajamàn* and the rest of the assembled persons, the husband ties the *tàli* to her neck. The ceremony closes with the distribution of *pan-supari* among the assembly, and a dinner given by the new husband.

Widow  
marriage.

A peculiar form of this ceremony is that which is observed at Davangere, in the Chitaldrug District, and thereabouts. The man after being bathed and dressed in new cloths is seated in a dark room, before the caste people assemble. The woman similarly bathed and dressed, is conducted into that room and knocks at the door. The man asks her who she is and what she has come there for; the woman replies that she has come to light a lamp in a dark house. Thereupon some women, married in *kúḍike* style, light a lamp in the room. The headman and other caste people give permission to the man to tie the *tàli*, after which *pan-supari* is distributed, and the proceedings close with a general dinner.

No married women attend the ceremony, nor are they allowed to see the newly married widow for three days after the ceremony. The *tera* or the bride's price paid is Rs. 7½, which goes towards the repayment of the *tera* of the first husband to his representatives.

The widow cannot marry her previous husband's brother, younger or elder; but she may marry any of his cousins. Again, she may marry as many times as she loses her husband or is abandoned by the latter, but, it is said that, at every subsequent marriage, she is entitled only to half the *tera* of the previous marriage.

The property which she might have inherited from her first husband has to be returned to his heirs, and the children also go back to his family. A woman marrying a second time is deprived of certain privileges and is, for purposes of joining any auspicious ceremonies, treated as if she were a widow. She cannot even enter a marriage pandal. Her issue for a few generations form a separate division, and are only gradually absorbed into the main body of the caste.

#### Divorce.

A man cannot divorce or abandon his wife for any other reason than adultery or loss of caste on her part. The latter is also a good ground for the wife to break the marriage tie. At the time of dissolution of marriage, the castemen and the *yajamān* are called together, and the circumstances necessitating the divorce are laid before them. The council hear the parties and sometimes, when the complainant fails to make out his case, the parties are dismissed with an admonition, and a reconciliation is generally effected. But in most cases, parties do not go to the length of laying the matter before the panchayatas, unless the facts are likely to be proved by overwhelming evidence.

The divorced woman may marry another in *kudike* form. If a man elopes with a married woman, and on this account a divorce is effected, he has to pay the marriage expenses to the previous husband and a fine to the caste, before he can marry the woman, the latter has also to return the *tāli* and any other jewels which she might have received from her previous husband. If a woman commits adultery with a man of any superior caste, the matter may be condoned by payment of a small fine to the caste; but adultery with a man of lower rank entails loss of caste.

#### Death ceremonies.

They generally bury their dead, but the bodies of pregnant women or lepers are disposed of either by burning or by \*heaping stones over the dead bodies, though the latter practice is somewhat rare. Some of these following the practice of the Lingayats, carry the body placed in a sitting posture in a *vimāna*, and burying it in the same posture in a niche made in the grave; while others use a flat bier of bamboos, the body being carried and buried in a horizontal position with the head to the south. Keeping the bier down while going half way, and

\* This practice is known in Kannada as *Kallu Séve* (ಕಲ್ಲುಸೇವೆ) meaning stone-service.

breaking a water pot at the grave, are also observed as among other castes. Nothing is buried with the body except half of the new cloth in which it had been wrapped, the other half being thrown away at the graveyard. On the grave, either *tulasi* or *tumbe* plants are planted. After the body is disposed of, the party bathe, return home and have to see a light kept burning on the spot where the deceased expired. In the night, a bunch of *Ekka* leaves and water in a small vessel are kept on ragi grain spread at the spot.

On the third day, the carriers, the chief mourner and some others go to the graveyard, keep milk, ghee and some other eatables on the grave. Milk and ghee are rubbed over the shoulders of the carriers.

The next ceremony in connection with the funerals is observed on the 11th day. Either a Jangama, or in some places, a Brahman is called to purify the house. Then the castemen and the chief mourner go to the burial ground, and offer cooked food and cakes at the grave. In the evening, a dinner is prepared. In the central part of the house, a *kalasa* is set up and after the offering of a cocoanut and the burning of incense near it, the following prayer is addressed to the deceased :—"You are no longer on earth but have joined your ancestors in the *Svarga*. We look up to you for the protection of ourselves and our family. O father ! protect us." Then all disperse shutting up the house so that the ghost may have an undisturbed meal of the good things spread before it, and returning after two or three minutes, they consume the victuals. Before eating, the chief mourner and some others go to a temple and, after *pūja* is done to the god, the chief mourner throws three balls of butter at the idol, saying "O god, the deceased might have thrown stones at you, but now for him we throw butter. Take mercy on him and open the door of *Svarga* for him to enter!"

They observe pollution only for three days but the chief mourner is not purified till the 11th day ceremony is over. During the period of pollution, they do not put on a mark on the forehead, do not attend to their profession and do not eat either flesh or sweet things.

They do not perform *śrāddhas*. But periodically they offer *yaḍe* (ॐ) to all the deceased ancestors. They set up a *kalasa* in the central portion of the house, keep new clothes near it, burn incense, break a cocoanut and offer



also cooked food in the name of all the deceased ancestors. They observe this either during the Dasara or at the Dīpāvali or Yugādi (new-year's-day) or on the new-moon day in the month of Bhādrapada (Mahālaya Anāvāsya), the last being the most common occasion.

The ghost of a deceased wife is believed often to torment or trouble her successor. If the latter is unable to suckle her new born babe or gets hysterical or otherwise ill, the first wife is propitiated by setting up a *kalas'a* in her name, and making *pūja* to it, and also offering a new cloth which the second wife afterwards wears.

Social  
status.

They are a settled people and are found all over the State. They form part of the village corporation. They have no recognised head-quarters. There is nothing peculiar in the shape and material of their dwelling, except that at the approach to the house is first to be seen a place to shelter their asses, and an oven on which the dirty clothes are boiled for washing.

Admission  
to caste.

They have a ceremony for taking into their caste persons from higher castes such as Vakkaligas, Kurubas, and others. This is known as *Kulā māduvudu* (ಕುಲಮಾಡುವುದು), making the caste. After ascertaining that the original caste has no objection to one of their men being taken into this fold, they invite their own castemen from several *gaḍis* (divisions) to a meeting at which all the *Yajamāns* of the several divisions and others are present. If the candidate's resolution to join them has held out, he has to get shaved and bathe in a river or tank and worship Ganga (water goddess). After being given *tirtha*\* he is made to pass successively through seven huts which are burnt soon after he leaves each. He bathes again and is given a paste of soap-nut and turmeric which he swallows. Then in the presence of the caste assembly, he makes *pūja* to the spoon and bell—the symbol of the 18 Phapas, which with some *vibhūti* balls are placed on a black kambli *Gaddige*. The Kōlkar applies some of the *vibhūti* ashes to his forehead. After this, there is a dinner, at which the recruit eats along with others, and is treated as one of the caste.

For a time, however, sometimes for a generation or two, he is looked upon as belonging to an inferior division

\* Holy water in which the idol of a god is washed at the time of worship. A spoonful is given by the Pūjari or worshipper to each devotee to drink.

like that of the offspring of *kūḍike* marriage, in the matter of intermarriages and taking part in important ceremonies, such as marriage.

As regards inheritance, the Agasas follow the ordinary Hindu Law. Widowed and destitute daughters and sisters are considered entitled to be maintained by the family.

Inheritance.

They have, in common with others of a low standard of culture, a living belief in omens, oracles, magic and sorcery. The more unsophisticated among them believe that their god is present in their caste panchayat meetings and directs their collective wisdom in the way of arriving at a just decision, and that lying on such occasions will be attended with supernatural retribution. Their caste symbol (that is, the bell and the spoon suspended by chain) is placed prominently in such meetings and the disputants swear by this symbol to attest their truth.

Superstitions.

In most cases their priests are Jangamas or their own headmen; but a few are in the habit of calling in Brahmans as purohīts. Their guru (or spiritual head) is a Lingayat to whom they give periodical presents to get *tirtha* and *prasāda*. He receives *kāṇike* (काणिके) or money presents during their marriages and other auspicious ceremonies.

Priests.

They are flesh eaters and eat pork, mutton, fish and big lizards, but not beef. They also drink liquor both foreign and indigerous. The well-known lowest caste from the hands of which they eat are the Kurubas and Kumbāras and only Madigas and Holeyas eat in the houses of Agasas. Their touch is considered to defile a Brahman and the more orthodox among the latter do not put on the washed clothes returned by the washerman, without washing and drying them again.

Personal habits.

The original occupation of the caste is washing clothes. They are also employed as torch-bearers on festive occasions, and to show respect or light the way to persons of rank. They are also worshippers at some of the shrines of the humbler order. They do not wash the clothes of Holeyās\* and Madigās.

Occupation.

The method of washing is to soak the clothes first in water, for which they go to a tank or a river, not

\* On the supposed alliance of the two castes, see the account of the Holeyās.

generally resorted to for bathing or drinking purposes. They then apply fuller's-earth and after partly drying, boil the clothes or steam them. Some indigo is then put in, and the clothes are again washed in pure water. Rice gruel is afterwards applied to such clothes as require starching, and they are also ironed when necessary. When washing cloths with borders of silk, they tie up the silk portion so as to protect it from injury from soda. They have huge earthen vessels for tubs and steaming pots. They beat the cloths on stones, and have wooden mallets (ಕೆಡಕೆ) to compress the cloths when folded and use iron boxes to iron them.

They say that they were originally Banajigas and became subsequently separated from the latter by reason of their profession. Some have taken to agriculture and some are day labourers. Such of them as are agriculturists follow all the superstitions and other observances common to the raiyats, such as, not working bullocks on Mondays.

They form members of the village corporation, and have to give free service on occasions such as a procession of the gods. In some places, each washerman has certain families as his customers by hereditary usage, and others are not allowed to trespass on his preserve. But such usages are fast disappearing.

#### Wages.

As regards remuneration for services, the following is a rough scale of fees in villages not affected by the taint of advancing competition. For a family consisting of a husband and a wife and two children with aged parents, the washerman gets one bundle of unthreshed straw, one winnowful of grain at the threshing floor and twenty measures of grain with other perquisites such as food on all the feast days, and marriage and other auspicious occasions. The washerman is entitled to get the cloth worn by a girl at the time of her puberty, and to the presents given by her husband when he carries the news of the event. The clothes of unmarried persons in the family and those of the yajamán are washed free.

#### Religion.

They lean more towards the S'aiva than the Vaishnava faith, though many profess the latter also. In fact, they are like other Hindus in showing reverence at all the recognised shrines. Their goddess is Lakshmidēvi, the consort of Vishṇu. They also worship Hanumanta.

The minor gods they worship are numerous. In fact, no worship of the village goddesses can take place without the help of the Agasas, and they officiate as *pūjaris*, especially when casual goddesses, such as, those of cholera and small-pox have to be worshipped, on the outbreak of an epidemic. These feminine deities are worshipped by preference on Tuesdays and Thursdays. Animals sacrificed (except buffaloes) are eaten by these men; and they get a share even when the sacrifices are offered by other castes. The share allotted to an Agasa out of the meat of the buffalo sacrificed to Mari, is given away to Holeyás or Mádigás.

Their tribal god is Bhúmi Dévaru (Earth-god), which they worship during the Gauri\* feast (August—September). On that day, they all bathe and keep themselves clean and eat only one meal. The washing tub, the steaming pot, oven, and the ironing implements are all washed and cleaned. They are placed together and worshipped with flowers and fruit and sometimes animals are offered to them. They observe it as a holiday and do not work with their implements. In large places, there are temples dedicated to Bhúmi Dévaru, worshipped by a man of this caste, to which they go and offer cocoanut to the idol, after their *Ubbe-pūja* (worship of the washing tub) is done at home.

When any person in a village is suffering from some illness, supposed to have been caused by the *Seven sisters*, the washerman of the village is asked to do *pūja* to these deities. He is given some money according to a recognized scale such as, one-half or-quarter of a *hana*. He sets up seven stones in a small shed constructed of green leaves outside the village generally near a water course, and places before them offerings of some fruit, fried Bengal gram and such other things. In fact, the Agasa seems to be the *pūjari* of all the gods and goddesses that are worshipped near water courses and in groves.

The Agasas have in some places the custom of worshipping their family god once a year. The whole family observe a fast till the evening on the day of such worship. In the afternoon the idol representing the god is taken in procession, with music, to a water course, where it is washed and all the persons bathe. Sometimes a Brahman is called to do the purification rite (ಸಂಸ್ಕರಣ) to the god and perform a *homa* (sacrifice in the fire). After this, he retires and

\* The 3rd day of the bright half of the lunar month of Bhādrapada, which falls in August or September.

the castemen do *pūja* to the god, breaking cocoanuts and waving camphor *ārati*. Then the idol is carried back with great pomp and set up outside the village boundary in a shed erected for the purpose. The god is again worshipped and offerings are made of cooked rice or animals according to usage.\* From this spot, the idol is taken into the village and restored to its place in the temple. Then the several families attached to the god, individually offer cocoanuts to the idol and get *tirtha* and *prasāda*,† (holy water and holy victuals). In the night, a grand dinner is prepared and all castemen whether of the same group or not, are fed therein.

Other gods revered by this caste are Hiriyanṇa (ಹಿರಿಯಣ್ಣ) and Hunasamma (ಹುಣಸಮ್ಮ). It is said that at the annual celebration of Hiriyanṇa's worship, buffaloes are sacrificed. This is perhaps the only instance in which this animal is sacrificed in the name of a male deity. Agasas apprehend misfortune if these celebrations are omitted.

They revere also as saints Maḍivāla Māchayya (ಮಚಯ್ಯ) otherwise known as Vira Maḍivāḷappa (ವಿರಮಡಿವಾಳಪ್ಪ) and Mallige Mādevi (ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆಮಾಡೇವಿ). The male saint is worshipped in groves, and Jangamas are given doles of rice; but the worship of Mādevi takes place on *Sivarātri* (ಸಿವರಾತ್ರಿ) occurring in February or March, at midnight, and strangers are not allowed to witness it. No part of the rice boiled for offering at this *pūja*, is given to any of the lower castemen, such as Holeyās and Mādigās.

Miscellaneous.

Agasas belong to 18 Phaṇas or the right hand section. Among themselves, they have a caste headman called *gaṇḍa*, and caste servant styled *Hattara manushya* or Kólkar, the beadle. Their minor disputes are settled by their caste head, but where a matter is important, the Setṭi or (as he is more commonly known) Deś'ada Setṭi, who is the headman of all the castes forming the 18 Phaṇa-group, is called in, and his decision is final.

They have no peculiar theatrical entertainments in their own caste. Whenever torch-bearers are necessary in village dramas or elsewhere, they fill that position.

\*Animal sacrifices are made chiefly to the Sakti deities; and almost never to the higher order of gods.

† *Prasāda* means food and flowers offered to the idol. A little of it is given to each person by the *Pūjari*.

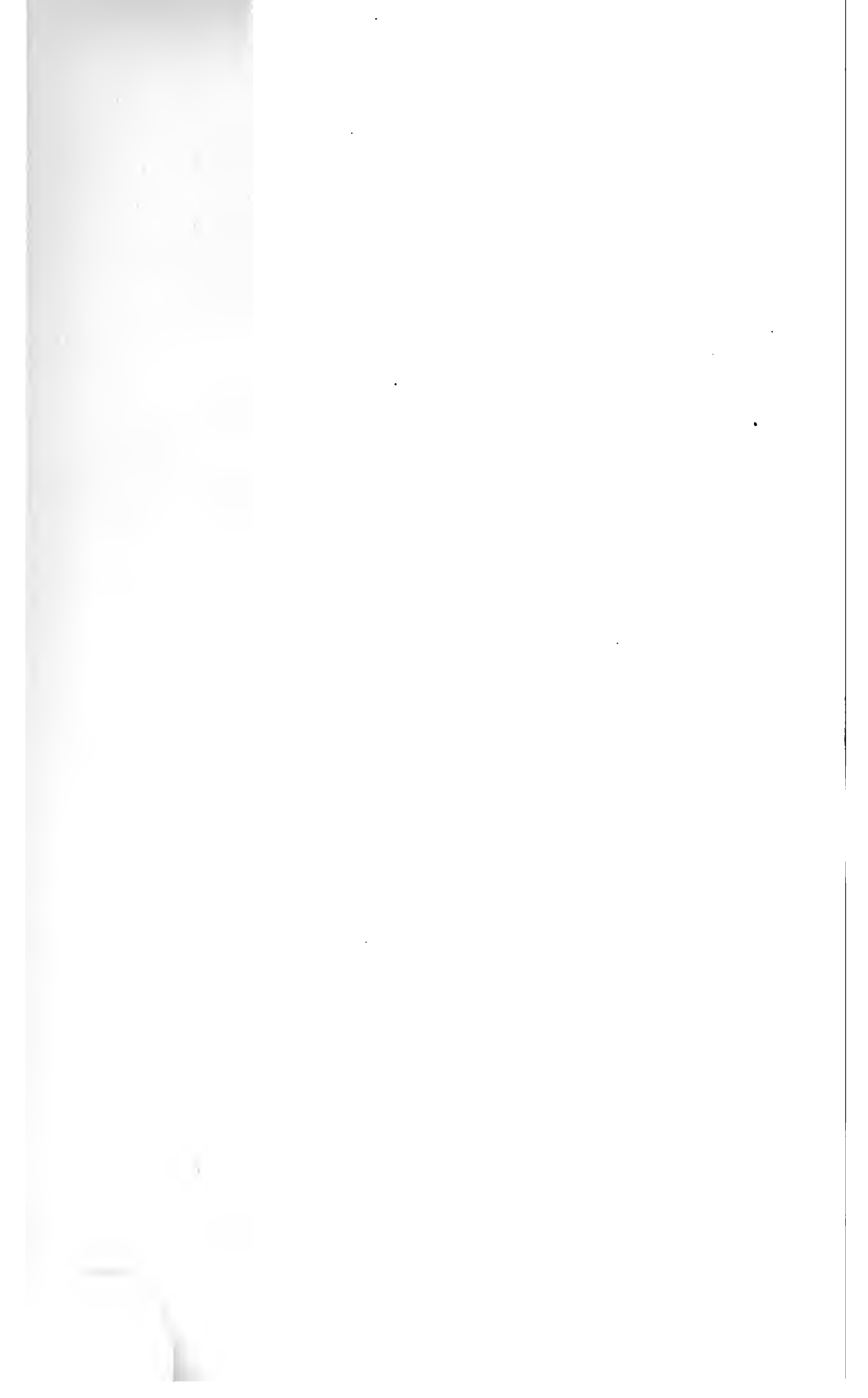
Their women get tattooed, this operation being performed by a Koracha woman. Tattooing is considered auspicious for a married woman, and regarded as improving her personal appearance. All sorts of designs, such as, parrots, snakes, scorpions, and geometrical figures, are adopted. It is only married women\* that get themselves tattooed, and if a girl becomes a widow before she is tattooed, she does not undergo the operation afterwards.

The married state of a woman is indicated by her wearing toe-rings, black beads and *tahi*, and that of a man by the presence of toe-rings.

---

\*A married woman whose husband is alive, known as *Muttaide* (ಮುತ್ತೈದೆ), is alone entitled to adorn her person, and to take part in all auspicious ceremonies in which women have a share.

---



(Preliminary Issue.)

**The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

---

V.



**BESTHA CASTE.**

BY

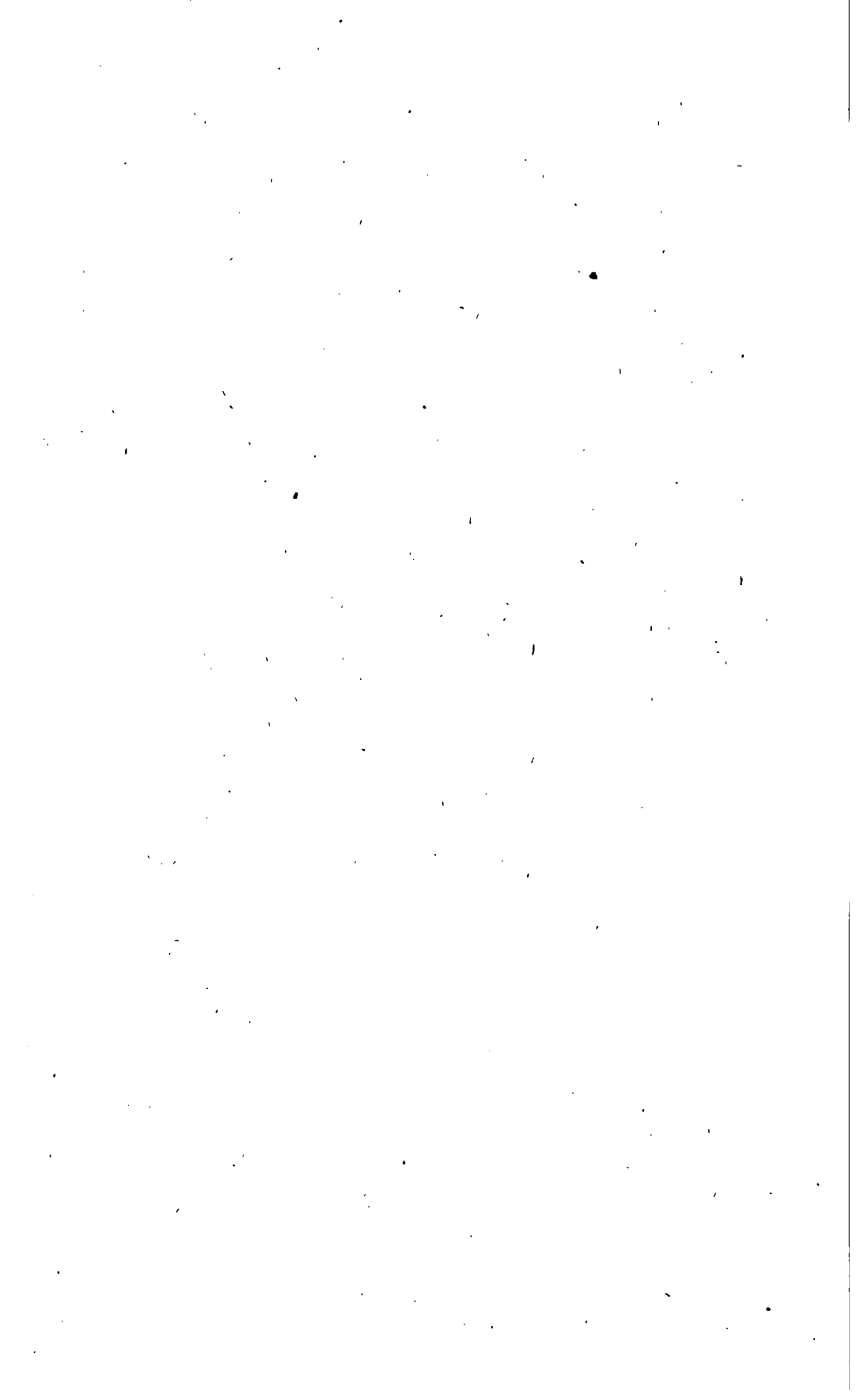
**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

---

BANGALORE:  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS  
1906.

*Price 4 Annas.*





(Preliminary Issue.)

**The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

---

**V.**

**BESTHA CASTE.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

---

BANGALORE:  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS  
1906.

*Price 4 Annas.*



## CONTENTS.

---

	Page.
Name        ...        ...        ...        ...	1
Origin        ...        ...        ...        ...	1
Exogamous divisions    ..        ...        ...	2
Names        ....        ...        ...        *	2
Caste constitution        ...        ...        ...	3
Adoption    ...        ...        . .        ...	3
Marriages    ...        ...        ...        ...	3—7
Kudike        ...        ...        ...        ...	7
Puberty     ...        ...        ...        ...	7
Adultery and divorce    ...        ...        ...	7
Widow marriage        ...        ...        ...	8
Polygamy    ...        ...        ...        ...	8
Inheritance        ...        ...        ...	8
Death and funeral ceremonies    ...        ...	8—10
Religion     ...        ....        ...        ...	10
Occupation    ...        ...        ...        ...	11
Superstitions        ...        ...        ...	12
Food        ...        ...        ...        ...	12
Privileges    ..        ...        ...        ...	12



## BESTAS.

The Besta (ಬೆಸ್ಟಾ) caste has, according to the last Census, a population 153,174 persons, of whom 75,107 were males and 77,067 females. They live scattered all over the State, but are found in large numbers in the river districts of Shimoga and Mysore.

The name of the caste is derived from the Kannada word *besada* (ಬೆಸದ), thrown. Some curiously derive it from *Betta-hasta* or *Vetra-hasta*, meaning one holding a cane, and this fanciful etymology is based on the following legend. Once upon a time Varuna invited the *Sapta* Rishis to attend a sacrifice he was celebrating. They agreed to go if he would expel the disturbers of their penance, the land and the aquatic animals from the face of the earth. He worshipped and sought the help of God Iswara who sent Ganga from whom were sprung Suparnaraju, Guharaju and Suta with thirty-two weapons in their hands. One of the weapons was a cane or stick, and descent is traced for this caste from these semi-divine personages.

Several other legends are given, each giving the origin of the whole or a sub-division of the caste. One legend tells that *Sutaru* or *Sutakuladavaru* (ಸೂತರು, ಸೂತ ಕುಲದವರು) are sprung from a person who, when Varuna came out of Ganga, carried him over in a boat and landed him. Another legend is to the effect that Santana *Chakravarti* had connection with Satyavati, a low caste boatman's girl, who thus became the step-mother of Bhishma who was his son by his other wife Ganga. Since Bhishma, otherwise called Gangasuta, was a Besta, being in a way the son of Satyavati whose children were all Bestas, the latter got the appellation of Gangasutas or in Kannada *Gangemakkalu* (ಗಂಗೆಮಕ್ಕಳು) like Bhishma.

The attendants of Varuna have given to their descendants the name of *Parivaradavaru* (ಪರಿವಾರದವರು), meaning retinue of serving men.

The less usual names, as given by Nanjangud informants, are Dushyanta, Nishada or Parasava, Dasa or Margava. According to Manu, a Dushyantha is the son of a Kshatriya father and a Brahman mother. A Nishada, who is to live by fishing and snaring animals, is born of a Brahmin father and a Sudra mother. . Lastly a Dasa or Margava who is to subsist by working as a boatman is the son of a Nishada father and an *Ayogava* mother. These names are not in vogue, and were apparently suggested for the occasion, by some Brahman instructor, as high-sounding titles.

All these attempts have merely arisen from the motive of making out a superior origin for the caste which, as its main occupation is boating and fishing in the waters, has adopted the name of *Gangaputras* or *Gangemakkalu*, children of water, which furnishes them with their means of livelihood. It may be noted that in Northern India, some inferior Brahmans who worship the Ganga at holy places call themselves *Gangaputras*.

Exogamous  
Divisions.

The following names are given as denoting the exogamous divisions or *Kulas* existing in this community: viz., the *Kulas* of *Chinna* (gold), *Belli* (silver), *Surya* (sun) *Chendra* (moon), *Devi* (goddess), *Suta* (charioteer), *Mugilu* (cloud), *Bhashinga* (marriage chaplet), *Muttu* (pearl), *Ratna* (precious stone), *Kasturi* (musk), *Havala* (coral bead) and *Mallige* (jasmine). There are two others called *Manjiravallu* and *Kadinavallu*, but the significance of the terms cannot be made out.

It is said that silver ornaments are not worn by those of the *Belli Kula* except during marriages.

Kasyapa and Kaundinya *gotras*, called after the *Rishi* Kasyapa and Kaundinya, are said to be found in all the endogamous divisions. These *gotras* do not stand in the way of marriages within themselves as they do with Brahmans, and seem to have come into existence from a desire on the part of this caste to raise themselves in the social scale.

Names.

Raju, Nayaka and Boyi are the titles usually affixed to the names of male persons.

There is no peculiarity in the names adopted in this caste. Generally ancestral names and the names of

family deities are given to persons. *Tayamma* and *Puttusami* may be given as examples of terms of endearment. Opprobrious names are sometimes given to children born after loss of other children, such as *Kadamma* (jungle), *Tippamma* (dunghill) and *Javaraya* (god of death).

This caste admits persons of superior castes in the social scale, after the following ceremony. The elders and the representatives of the Besta families gather together in a garden. The aspirant for admission bathes after getting shaved and goes to a temple, where he receives the holy water given by the priest, which he drinks and sprinkles over his head. He is then smeared with ashes all over the body by the caste headman. A feast is given to the caste men at which he collects a morsel from each and partakes of the meal along with the others. Thenceforth he is reckoned as a member of the caste.

Caste constitution.

The elders of the caste are the *Dodda Yajman* (Senior Elder), *Chikka Yajman* (Junior Elder) and *Desa Setti*. The *Dodda Yajman* has the power of enquiring into and awarding punishment of excommunication or fine for breaches of caste customs. The *Chikka Yajman* is his personal assistant and is also called *Kolkar* (literally, stick bearer), because he carries a stick as the symbol of his authority. His duties are to collect caste people to join in the funerals or to form a caste council or *Panchayat* to discuss, when necessary, and judge questions relating to the caste. Punishments awarded by the Council or *Dodda Yajman* are to be proclaimed by the *Kolkar*.

The *Desa Setti* is the local head of the section. He gets the first *margada tambula* consisting of two coconuts, plantains, betel-leaves and money about eight annas, in all ceremonies. The Senior *Yajman* gets a double *tambula*.

Adoption of a son is recognized. A boy belonging to the section of the adopting father is more generally selected than one belonging to other sections. A younger brother is prohibited from being adopted by his elder brother. The adopted boy is disabled from marrying within the prohibited degrees of relationship of either the adoptive or his natural family.

Adoption.

The marriage should be confined within the same sub-division and those of the same *kula* cannot marry each other. The same rules of restriction on account of blood

Marriage.



relationship as in other castes have to be observed. Two sisters cannot be simultaneously married to the same person. They may be married to two brothers, the elder marrying the elder sister, the younger marrying the younger sister. A man belonging to a family following the profession of agriculture does not give his daughter to a person following the profession of fishing, or *vice versa*. Similarly with palanquin-bearers neither the former nor the latter make marriage alliances.

If a marriage take place outside the endogamous circle, the parties lose caste and are regarded as among the half-caste persons, such as those of illegitimate birth.

**Age of marriage.**

A Besta girl may remain unmarried. The practice of dedicating Basavis, though it exists, is getting into disfavour. Exchange of daughters is in vogue.

Both infant and adult marriages are allowed to take place. In the case of the former, a girl is married at the age of about twelve years. She lives with her parents till the consummation of the marriage takes place. Girls are not married to trees, swords, or other inanimate objects. Adult marriages take place generally within the first year after puberty. If a young woman is left unmarried for a long time after that, her chastity is questioned and thereafter only marriage by *Kudike* form is allowed to her.

If a girl has become pregnant before marriage by a man of her caste, she is allowed to marry her lover in the *Kudike* form. If he does not take her in marriage, he will be put out of caste, and she may join any other man in marriage, and her children, if any, will be affiliated to him. If she has lived with a man of another caste, she will be outcasted.

**Marriage ceremonies.**

Marriages are generally settled by the parents or guardians. The proposal comes from the father of the boy, who with a few friends goes to the house of the intended bride at an auspicious hour with cocoanuts, turmeric, red and yellow, betel-leaves and nuts. If consent is given by the other party, a letter of invitation and agreement is written then and there. A priest is called in to fix the day of marriage. The letters of invitation are worshipped by both the parties, and each party presents his letter to the other in a formal manner.

Three, five or seven days before *Chappara* or Pandal ceremony, the intended bride and bridegroom are made to exhibit themselves at a gathering of friends and relatives and an *arati*\* takes place.

The day previous to *Chappara* earthen vessels are newly brought to the house, and Dasaris and Jogis are fed there.

The construction of the *Chappara* or the Pandal is the first of the important ceremonies of marriage. It consists of twelve pillars of which one must be of juicy *kalli* wood in the case of Kannada Bestas, and in the case of others, of *Nerale* or *Kondamavu* tree. This post is known as *halu kambha* (milk post) or *muhurta kambha* (marriage post). The *Chikka Yajman* of the caste attended with drums and gongs, goes to the tree with married women to bring the milk post. He worships the tree and cuts a branch of it. It is brought home and fixed in a pit already formed and spread with milk and ghee at the bottom. A cloth package containing seven kinds of grain is tied to it; and it is sprinkled over with water in which coral and gold are washed, and painted with red and white stripes.

In the evening, a *kankana* consisting of white woollen thread to which are tied a piece of turmeric root and an iron ring, is tied to the bridegroom's hand.

On the second day, water is brought from a pond in vessels by married women. The Dasari worships the pond and idols. The bridegroom's sister brings one of the *Kalasa* pots (styled ಒಡಪಟ್ಟಿದ ಗಡಿಗೆ or sister's pot) decorated with *hombale* (arecanut flower). They come back in procession, walking over cloths spread in the street by a washerman (ನಡೆಮಾಡಿ), and with *maneseve* (ಮಣೇಸೇವೆ) at intervals. The latter is described as follows :—

As the procession is moving, they spread a cloth on the ground in front, and place on it in six places, a small quantity of fruit *rasayana*.† Then the Dasayyas blowing the conch and beating gong with cries of ah ! ah ! ah ! go round and round the cloth three times,

---

\* *Arati* is the ceremony of waving over the bride and bridegroom a platter containing coloured water.

† *Rasayana* is a sweet compound, generally made by mixing together plantains, cocoanut, and jaggery with cardamoms or pepper as spices, the whole mashed together.

and eat up the sweet stuff picking it up with their lips. This is repeated a number of times before they reach the marriage house. Two Dasayyas will hold the idols in their hands, and walk in front without taking part in the *maneseve*. These are followed by the *Odahuttidagadige* (ಒಡಹುತ್ತಿದಗದಿಗ) bearer. The idols and the water pot are placed in a room and worshipped till the marriage is over.

Among Saivas instead of *maneseve* (ಮನೇಸೇವೆ), the JogaYYa worships Trisula (ತ್ರಿಶೂಲ), and brings home the water vessel.

Muhurtha or Dhare takes place on the third day. A *Nerale* (Jambolana) branch is taken to a Peepul tree and puja offered to it, and it is then brought home and again worshipped. The bridegroom furnished with a spear or dagger is led in procession to a temple, where the relatives and friends of the bridal parties are gathered by invitation. The bride in the meanwhile comes into the marriage house and takes her seat on the plank. The bridegroom comes back from the temple holding a dagger in his right hand, and sits facing the bride while a screen separates the two. The names of the immediate ancestors of both the parties are repeated. The parents pour *dhare niru* \* on the united hands of the bridegroom and the bride. The screen is taken off and the *tali*, a golden disc, the symbol of the marriage bond, is tied round the neck of the bride by the bridegroom. Rice newly prepared out of paddy for the occasion is poured in plenty on the bridal party. The ends of the cloths of the newly united couple are tied together, and they prostrate themselves before their seniors who bless them in return with wishes of a long and happy married life.

The fourth day is the last day of the marriage. The *kankana* is untied by the married ladies and placed in a plate containing jaggory and rice. Then takes place the *Kamba Sastra* or 'Pillar' ceremony. At this, the newly married couple place a handful of cooked rice on a wet cloth in front of each pillar and do puja. After the procession through the village is over, the milk post is

---

\* Dhare Niru means water in drops. When any gift is made in a solemn religious manner, a few drops of water with a few Tolasi (Basil) leaves and sometimes a small coin is put into the hands of the recipient by the donor. The water falls in *dhara* or drops, and the gift of a girl in marriage being one of the most solemn of such acts, the ceremony is commonly denoted by the single word 'dhare'.

worshipped and in the end it is smeared over with ashes. This is the final act of the ceremony.

The bride-price is Rs. 12. This goes to the bride's family, father, mother or brother. It is given in the presence of all during the '*dhare*.' The price of the bride married for the second time is six rupees. Bride price.

The marriage expenses come to about fifty rupees, of which the major portion goes for feasting.

In a marriage by *Kudike*, it is the male members only and not married women that attend the ceremony. Women who are thus married are not allowed to take part in marriage and other auspicious occasions. Kudike.

A girl attains her age of puberty at about her sixteenth year. She is kept in a shed for three days, during which period she is considered impure. Soon after the signs are observed, she is made to sit on a plank, married women wave the *arati* or coloured water before her, and on the fourth day she bathes. Till the eleventh day after the bath, married women gather round her and make *arati* in the evenings. On the sixteenth day, consummation of marriage generally takes place. The shed in which the girl was lodged at the time of her first *menses*, is burnt up. Puberty.

During the ordinary monthly periods, a woman bathes on the first day only, and remains in a portion of the house for three days, during which period she does not enter the kitchen but does other household duties.

When a girl is for the first time sent to her husband after the consummation of marriage, she is presented with new cloths and *madalakki* (ಮದಲಕ್ಕಿ), i.e., rice placed in her tying cloth, with jaggory, cocoanut, some fruits, betel-leaves and nuts.

When a child-birth takes place, the mother is kept in a separate room, at the door of which a hatchet, margosa leaves, an old shoe and a broomstick are placed to keep off evil spirits. The period of ten days from the day of the birth of a child is one of pollution. On the eleventh day, a bath is given to the mother and child.

Adultery within the caste is tolerated ; but the woman and her lover will be compelled to pay her husband's marriage expenses in case she wants to live permanently with her lover. Sometimes it is settled by a small fine paid to Adultery and divorce.

the caste, and the money is used for a general feast of the caste people.

Divorce is allowed on the ground of unchastity on the part of the wife. She may marry again in the *Kudike* form after divorce. One-half of the first husband's marriage expenses must be refunded by the new husband, in return for which the former unties the *tali* and renounces his matrimonial rights over her.

Remar-  
riage.

The remarriage of widows is permitted if the widow and her new husband pay to the caste a fine of rupees six and rupees eight, respectively. A widow may marry her husband's elder brother but such marriages are rare. The caste in such cases demands an additional fine of a few rupees.

Children of a widow by her second husband cannot claim the property of their mother's first husband. Similarly sons by her first husband cannot succeed to the property of her second husband. If a man has children both by his legal wife and his concubine and if they all live together, the children of the concubine can claim shares in the property of their natural father.

Polygamy  
and poly-  
andry.

Polyandry is unknown but polygamy is freely practised. Barrenness, defect in body or mind and unchastity on the part of the first wife are the principal reasons for one to take another wife. The first wife's sister is generally preferred as a second wife.

Inheritance.

A son-in-law remaining with his father-in-law, is stated to be entitled to inherit the property of his father-in-law, provided he performs the latter's obsequies. In other respects, the members of the caste follow the general Hindu law of inheritance.

Death and  
funeral  
ceremonies.

The dead body is generally buried, but when the person has died very old or has otherwise been held in great esteem, his corpse is burnt. During the last moments of a man, all the relatives and caste people gather to take part in the funerals. A few grains of rice are put in the mouth of the defunct person by all the relatives and friends as a last mark of regard for him. The widowed wife worships the body and exchanges betel-leaves with it. If a married woman dies before her husband, her body is laid in a litter constructed of green leaves and flowers and smeared with turmeric powder.

The dead body is generally carried in a frame of bamboo, and where the parties can afford the expense, the frame is decorated with flowers. It is placed on the ground somewhere while half way towards the burial ground, where the son or other person officiating as the chief mourner goes round it with a pot of boiled rice in his hands and smashes the pot on the ground, nearest the head of the corpse.

The dead are buried with their head turned to the South. A new cloth, a plantain leaf and a small copper coin stuck in the dead man's nose are the only things interred with him. This custom has given rise to a proverb in Kannada, which means "Though you earned so much, pity you are left without a pie in your nose."\* A new cloth, rice, betel-leaves and a few coins are laid on the grave and the *toti* of the village is bid to take them as his fees and price for the ground. Before the earth is thrown over the body, a vessel containing some boiled rice is again taken round the grave three times and smashed. If the body is burned, its remains and ashes are thrown in a pond or river on the third day. Milk and ghee are poured on the grave. If it is the husband that is dead, the woman takes off her bangles, *tali*, etc., and throws them on the grave. Henceforward she ceases to paint herself with turmeric paste.

The period of mourning lasts for ten days. On the eleventh day, the caste people are fed. A temple is visited by the chief mourner and cocoanuts are presented to the god and broken in his name. This ceremony is meant to open the gates of heaven more easily for the entry of the departed soul. During the period of mourning, no festivities are observed. Milk and sugar are not used for food and caste marks are not put on the face. The whole period of mourning is considered to be one of pollution.

Agnate relations observe the full period of mourning for the death of an adult, while they do not observe any mourning for the death of a child. The parents observe three days of mourning for the death of their infant children.

For the propitiation of the ancestors in general, a *yade* (ಯಡೆ) consisting of all the articles of food and plantain

---

\* ಇಷ್ಟು ಸಂಪಾದನೆಮಾಡಿ ಮೂಗಿನೊಳಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದು ಕಾಸಿಲ್ಲದೆ ಹೋದೆಯಾ.

leaves and coins, is presented to a Purohit on the Mahalaya day. Religious mendicants such as Dasayyas are fed. Ceremonies for deceased individuals are not performed periodically.

Brahmans are not required to assist at the funeral ceremonies which are carried on with the aid of the caste men alone, who may be instructed what to do by the Brahmans.

#### Religion.

These are Hindus by religion and worship the ordinary divinties, and have both Saivas and Vaishnavas \* among them. The Saivas worship Siddappaji and Rajappaji.

There are two religious mendicant orders in this caste called *Jogis* (ಜೋಗಿಗಳು) and *Dasaris* (ದಾಸರಿಗಳು). The *Jogis* are Saivas and are the devotees of *Chunchinagiri Baire Devaru* (ಚುಂಚಿನಗಿರಿ ಬೈರೇದೇವರು). They carry a horn (ಕಿಂಗಿ) which emits a shrill sound and *Kamakshi mudra* (ಕಾಮಕ್ಷಿ ಮುದ್ರೆ); and they annually send an offering of money to *Baire Devaru* (ಬೈರೇದೇವರು). This god they worship on Sundays if not daily. The *Dasaris* are worshippers of Vishnu and followers of Ramanujacharya. Their principal god is Ranganatha on the Biligiri Rangan hill. Both these mendicant orders eat animal food and drink alcoholic liquors. The other Bestas can intermarry with them.

Tolasamma (ತೊಲಸಮ್ಮ), wife of Biligiri Ranga, Maramma (ಮಾರಮ್ಮ), Uttanahalliyamma, (ಉತ್ತನಹಳ್ಳಿಯಮ್ಮ), Patalamma (ಪಟಾಲಮ್ಮ), and Kalamma (ಕಾಳಮ್ಮ), are their deities. These have jurisdiction within certain limits of territory, and are to be annually propitiated for the welfare of the locality by holding *jatras* or festivals, on which occasions buffaloes, sheep and fowls, are often sacrificed. The remains of the animals slaughtered for sacrifice are partaken of by the people. The carcasses of buffaloes are given away to Madigas. Individual offerings are given after every recovery from a bad disease such as small-pox and cholera. During epidemic seasons, special offerings are made to the local deities to induce them to turn out the intruding goddesses of the prevailing epidemic.

Pujaris of this caste worship these deities daily in the temples built for them. At the annual festivities in front

---

\* Worshippers of Siva and Vishnu respectively as their supreme deity.

of the temple of Maramma, a *Sidi* (ಸಿಡಿ) is played. A perpendicular beam of about fifteen feet supports and acts as a pivot to another horizontal beam. To the free end of the latter, a devotee who has made a vow suspends himself by getting the hook passed through the flesh at the back. The beam is turned round and when it completes one turn, the devotee is taken down and he falls prostrate before the deity. The priest then gives him *Prasada* (ಪ್ರಸಾದ).

Near the *Sidi*, 'fire-treading' takes place. A pit about 9 feet by 3 feet with a depth of 4 feet is filled with burning cinders. The devotees tread the fire and walk the whole length without wincing.

Natural objects are revered and are accorded the ranks of gods and goddesses. Thus streams in high floods are worshipped. A new cloth, turmeric powder, and a pair of new bamboo winnows are thrown in and floated away with the current. Snakes and ant-hills are no less important as objects of reverence. On *Nagara chauti* day, *pūja* is made with flowers and incense to serpent holes, and milk is poured for the snakes to drink. The snake idols, cut in stone and enshrined under *Peepul* and *Neem* trees, are visited with reverence. Lakshmidēvi, the goddess of wealth, is the principal deity of the caste, and they observe a yearly festival in her honour.

On the *Mahanavami* day, fishermen worship their nets, and cultivators their ploughs.

This caste has a comparatively low status. Their main occupations have been fishing, lime burning and palanquin-bearing and cultivation. Of late the profession of fishing is not looked upon as a respectable one, since it leads to the killing of many living beings. Serving as grooms, sweepers, and elephant drivers is also condemned.

Nets are prepared by them in the old fashion and they never purchase them in the bazaar or use those not made by themselves. The principal instruments they use for fishing are a cane with a long line, to which are attached a hook and bait at the end. The husks or outer meal of grains well boiled in water and formed into balls are used as bait. These balls are stuck to the ground and a stick waving on water indicates their position. The smell of the balls attracts fish and the fishermen make a sweep



of them with their net where they get themselves entangled. Earth worms are used for the cane lines as bait.

**Superstitious.**

In their caste assemblies, an accused person or a witness is said to have sworn when he merely goes round the gathering three times. They do not usually touch the fire, or any other objects to take the oath. They believe in omens, oracles and sorcery.

The sight of a jackal and that of a toddy pot are among those regarded as auspicious omens. When any sickness visits a house, they consult Koracha soothsayers, to know whether the ailment is one sent by God or the effect of an evil eye. A new born child is given a name suggested by the soothsayer. In all cases, children's diseases are diagnosed by the soothsayer, and his prescription regarding diseases caused by spirits is followed in detail. For oracles, they go to temples to consult the presiding deity. He is asked to give flowers, and if a flower drops down to the right of the idol, it is taken as a favourable response, while flowers dropped to the left are the reverse. If the deity is reluctant to give any definite indication, he is coaxed by promises of offerings of animals and money. It is believed by them that no devotee supplicating with a faithful spirit, has been disappointed till the present day.

They tie talismans of copper sheet beaten thin with some writing thereon, called *yantra* (ಯಂತ್ರ), round their arms as preventives against attacks of the spirits. Sometimes talismans serve to procure for the wearers children or success in important undertakings.

**Food.**

The flesh of the following animals are allowed to be used as food:—fowl, sheep, goat, crane, rabbit, crocodile and tortoise. They never eat fowls, sheep, goats, cranes, or other higher order of animals without first offering them to their gods; and they indulge in such luxuries chiefly during festivals. They consider it a virtue to abstain from animal food.

**Privileges.**

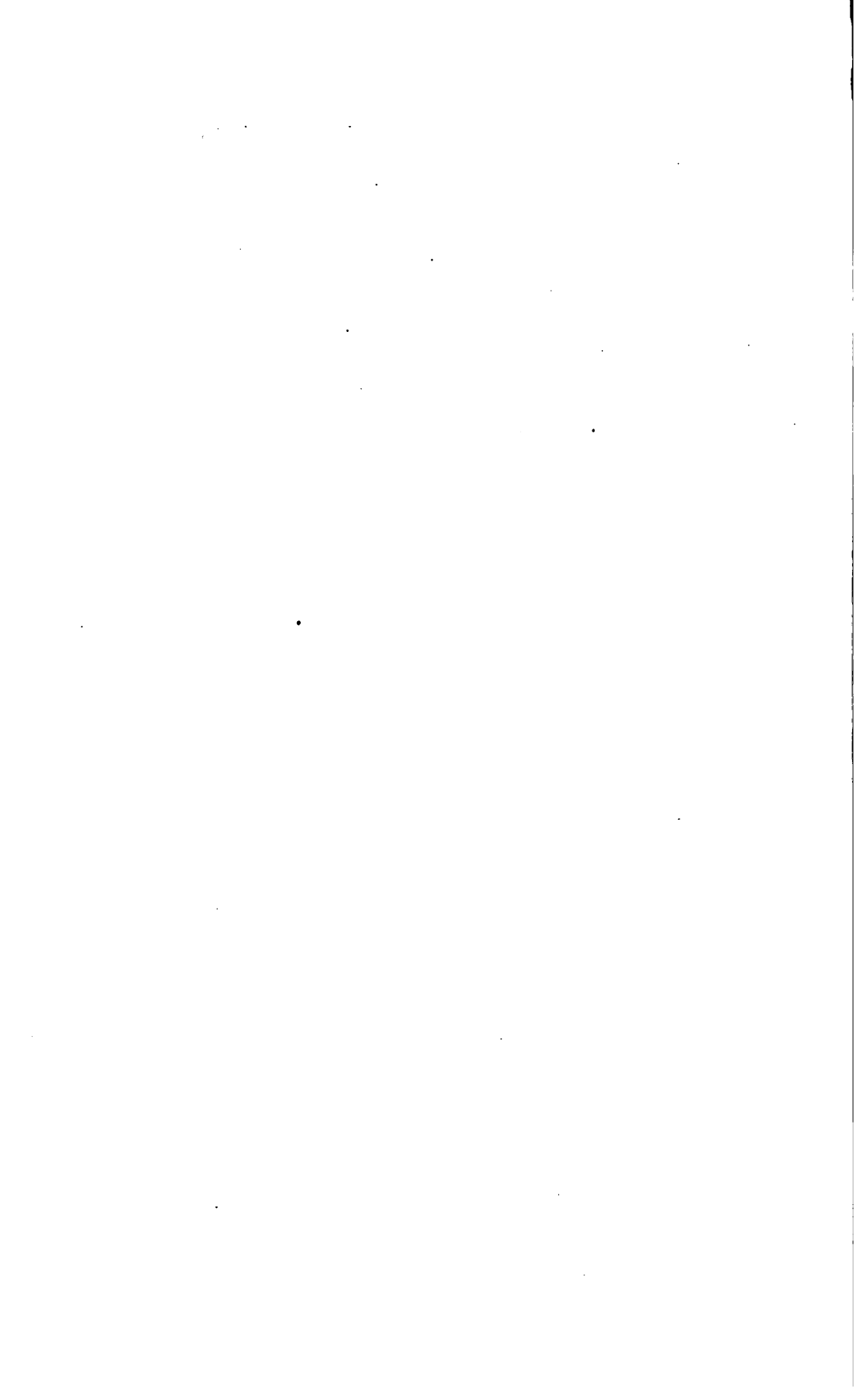
They are entitled to use, at their marriages, a red cloth canopy and palanquin and umbrella. Horses may be ridden by them. Some Bestas of Nanjangud do not use a palanquin, as once upon a time when a bride and bridegroom were going in it in a marriage procession, it accidentally took fire and was burnt.

They belong to the eighteen *Phanas* which are said to be a remnant of the old trade guilds. They do not dine with any of the nine *Phanas* who are their rivals.

In caste status, these are higher than Vaddas and Korachas. They do not take food with Waddas, Korachas, Barbers and Agasas, though all these latter eat in the houses of Bestas.

Bestas are the usual *Pujaris* of Yellamma and Maramma.

---



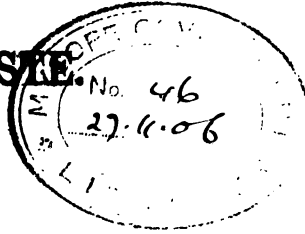
(Preliminary Issue.)

# The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.

---

VI.

KOMATI CASTE.



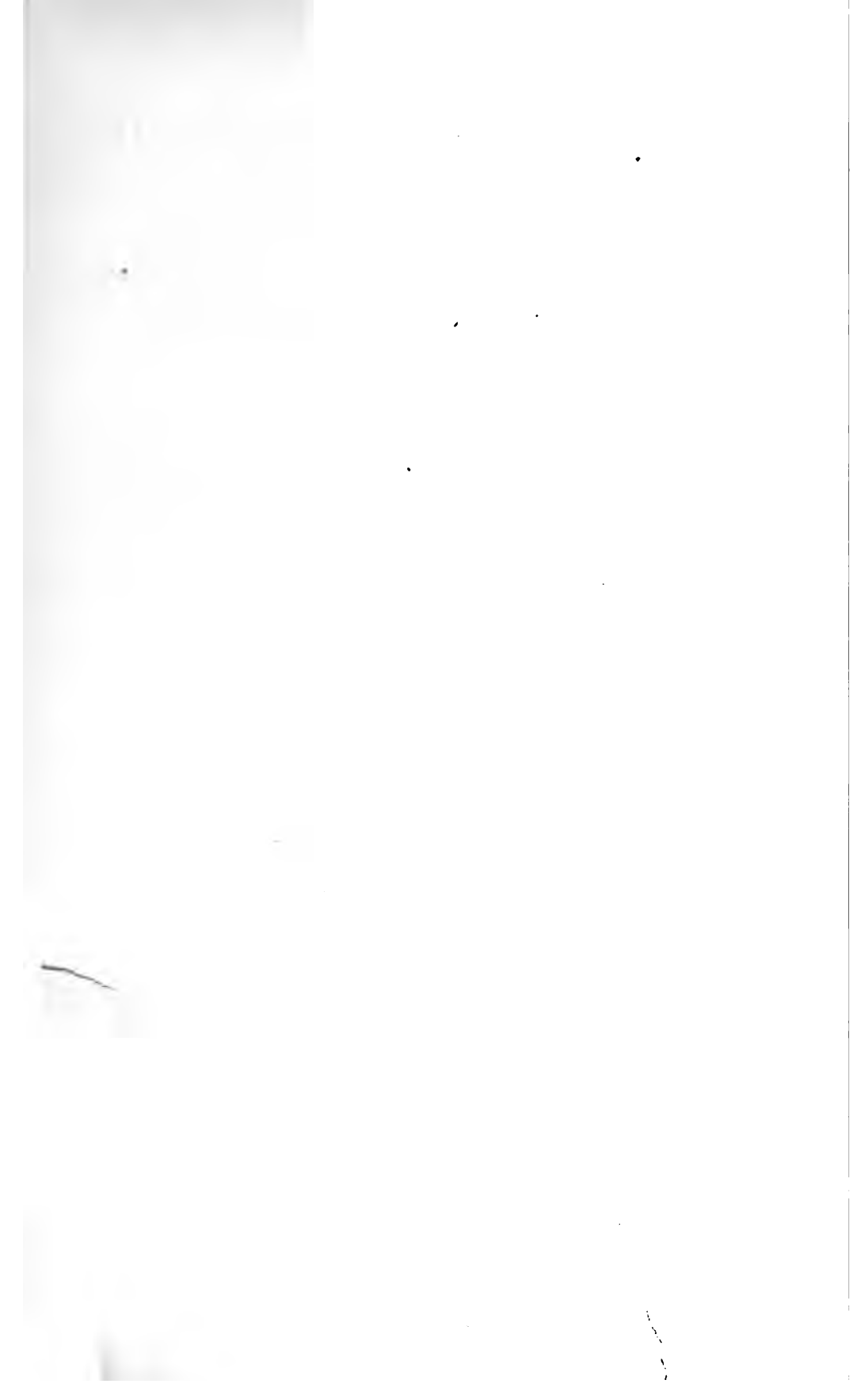
BY

H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.

---

BANGALORE  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS  
1906.

*Price 8 Annas.*

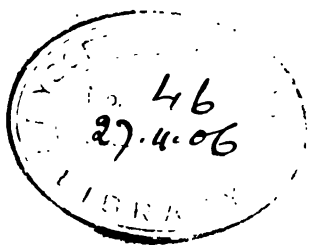


## CONTENTS.

---

	PAGE.
Name                   ...                   ...	2
Origin                   ...                   ...	3
Language               ...                   ...	5
Divisions               ...                   ...	5—6
Birth and name-giving                   ...	6
Adoption               ...                   ...	7
Marriage               ...                   ...	7—20
Puberty ceremonies                   ...	20—22
Divorce               ...                   ...	22
Funeral ceremonies                   ...	23—26
Social status           ...                   ...	26
Inheritance           ...                   ...	27
Food                   ...                   ...	28
Occupation           ...                   ...	28
Religion               ...                   ...	28
Caste council           ...                   ...	30—31
Appendix (List of <i>Gótras</i> )               ...	32—41

2000



## KOMATIS.

The Kómatís who style themselves Vaisyas are pre-eminently a trading class and numbered, according to the last Census of the State, 31,871 comprising 16,546 males and 15,325 females. They are found in large numbers in trading centres and are comparatively rare in small villages, where there is little scope for their pursuits. There are about a third of whole number in Kolar, and a fifth in each of Bangalore and Mysore Districts, the rest being scattered in the remaining districts.

They are high up in the scale of castes, and are almost as strict as the Brahmans in observing rules of personal cleanliness and restrictions in eating and drinking. Their claim to be considered as Vaisyas, though generally allowed, is disputed by rival claimants, especially by Nagartas and those known as of Jyotinagara, who are oil pressers by profession; and stories, calculated to lower their status, are often told to account for their origin. Such stories are, however, of little value, originating chiefly from bias and class jealousy, and some of them are even unfit for publication. On the other hand, passages are cited from authoritative works to show that Vaisyas like the Kshatriyas have disappeared in the Kaliyuga. Whatever the strict interpretation of these authorities may lead to, there is little doubt that these Komatís have preserved their separate identity and purity remarkably well, and that if they are not really the descendants of the old Vaisya class, they are quite as good as the original Vaisyas were, in their relative position in the hierarchy of Indian castes.

The Kómatís are generally of middle height and of dark complexion. They are an intelligent, hard-working and thrifty class. They are eminently successful in their trade, and there are many among them who have amassed a fair amount of wealth. They are proverbially known as lacking in courage both moral and physical, and are credited with an unusual share of that weapon of the weak,



cunning and duplicity. But the verdict that they enjoy an unenviable notoriety for sharp practice and fraud and are doubtless cunning, overreaching and unscrupulous in their business,\* is harsh and undeserved. There are fewer criminals found among them than in almost any other class, and though they are believed to resort to petty ways of making profit, they are remarkably free from the vice of making false claims or setting up false accounts. The term *Kómati* has, however, almost become synonymous with a petty-minded cunning fellow, and it is no wonder that the men of this caste prefer the appellation of a Vaisya to it.

Name. *Vaisya* comes from a Sanskrit root which means to enter. This term, as well as its synonym in Sanskrit namely *bhūmi-sprīṣaḥ* (ಭೂಮಿಸ್ಪ್ರೀಷಃ) denotes their original profession, that of agriculture.

*Kómati* (ಕೋಮಟಿ) is said to be the corrupted form of *Gómati* (ಗೋಮಟಿ) which is alleged to mean a tender of cattle.

Mr. Stuart, in the Census Report of Madras for 1891, gives the following derivations of the term :—

- (1) Ko+mati=Fox-minded.
- (2) Go+mati=Cow-minded.
- (3) Go+matti=Cow-gored.

But none of them is accepted by the people of this caste as the right etymology of the term, which, they assert, means a tender of cattle or cows.†

Setti means 'the noble,' and is the corrupted form of the Sanskrit word *Srēṣṭhi*.

A *Kómati* is sometimes playfully addressed by men of other castes as '*Bávagúru*' which means "Mr. Brother-in-law." The reason is that the caste is extremely cliannish, and when the members meet, they are punctilious about recognizing each other as relations; and when no definite relationship can be readily traced, they address the others as brother-in-law, it being considered the most courteous thing to regard oneself as the brother of the other's wife. This being most frequently heard in the

\* North Arcot Manual, 1895, p. 205.

† It is difficult to trace the origin of this term, the derivations given being more or less fanciful.

intercourse of men of this caste, it has become almost a nickname of the caste itself.

The titles or name-endings usually applied to the caste are *Setti* (ಸೆಟ್ಟಿ) and *Ayya* (ಅಯ್ಯ) ; but the orthodox Vaisya name ending is said to be *Gupta* (ಗುಪ್ತ) which, however, is all but unknown in this part of India.

The Kómatís regard themselves as the re-incarnation of the old Vaisya division of Hindus. The following story is current about their origin. The old order of Vaisyas became extinct on account of their misdeeds. But the want of an agricultural and industrial class caused great hardship in the world, and Kubéra, the god of wealth, had to complain to the Creator. A Rishi was commissioned to recreate the Vaisyas by a sacrifice. He used a thousand rings of the *Kusa* grass for the sacrifice and all of them became men and were sent out to work in the world for the creation and multiplication of wealth. These are said to be the original heads of the *gótras* of this caste. Origin.

They first settled, according to this tradition, in the district of Ayódhya ; and it is said that 714 of their families migrated to the south and settled in Penukonda. The place fell later on under the sway of one Vishnuvardhana of Rájamahéndrapura. This king fell in love with the beautiful daughter of a Kómati called Kusuma Setti, who was named Vāsavámba. The father and his castemen would not consent to give her in marriage to him but were afraid of refusing. They pretended to agree and on the day settled for the wedding, the damsel and her parents, together with a married couple of each of 102 families, entered a funeral pyre and perished all together. This girl who passed for an incarnation of Párvati, became the tutelary goddess of the caste and is worshipped under the name of *Kanyaká Paramésvari*. She is believed to have before her death pronounced a curse and laid down certain rules of conduct, meant to save the caste from similar calamities in future. ✓

Personal beauty having proved a dangerous quality, no woman of the caste should be born beautiful.\* They should never transgress the rule of the marriage between a

---

\* It is generally held that this curse has stuck to the tribe completely. Perhaps it was invented to account for the observed fact of the scarcity of handsome women.

man and his maternal uncle's daughter.\* A sect of men called Mailáris having helped Kómatís at this trying time by giving them intelligence of what was transpiring in Vishnuvardhana's Court, it was ordained that the *pújāris* at the shrine of Kanyaka Paramésvari, whose worship from that date was ordained for the members of this caste, should always be of the Mailári caste, to whom periodical presents should also be given.

Thus of the 714 families that had settled in the south, only 102 threw in their lot with the Kanyakat; the rest remained apart and they are said to be Nagartas and other kindred castes claiming to be Vaisyas.

The same story is sometimes given with certain variations. The caste had for its progenitor one Nabhaga, otherwise styled Vaisyamuni or Sálankáyana, who lived in the Magadha country. During the time of Chandragupta, they spread to the south as far as Ujjani (Malwa), the capital of Vikramáditya, in whose reign they emigrated into all parts of his kingdom. They settled in Penukonda, during the time of Vémanagupta, and Vishnuvardhana who fell in love with the damsel, was one of his successors. The maid Vāsavámba believed that she was an incarnation of Párvati, and was declining to marry any man, asserting that she would marry only Nagarésvara (Siva). In order to repulse the overtures of the king, her marriage was actually celebrated with god Nagarésvara. This roused the enmity of the king who began to persecute Kusuma Seti and others of his caste in various ways, and thus brought about the catastrophe of their wholesale immolation.

Vāsavámba was born in *Pendli* or *Udváha kula*, and even now an extra *támბúla* is given to the representatives of that *kula* during marriage and other auspicious occasions.

The *gótra* or family that has become extinct is said to be that of *Gaṇapa kula*.

---

\* *Kómatí-ménaríkam* (Telugu) కౌమటిమేనరికము—a Komati's maternal relationship) has become a proverbial expression, to denote a relation that cannot be escaped or evaded.

† *Kanyaka* means maiden or virgin. *Paramésvari* means the consort of Paramésvara or Siva and is another name for Párvati also known as Gauri.

The language of the caste is Telugu. But some, Language.  
owing to their long residence in the Kaunada Districts of  
the State, have almost forgotten their mother tongue and  
speak Kannada.

There are three main divisions among the Kómatís, Divisions.  
which constitute practically different castes without either Endoga-  
commensality or intermarriage, namely *Gavara* (ಗವರ), mous Divi-  
*Tuppda* (ತುಪ್ಪದ), and *Trai-Varnika* (ತ್ರೈವರ್ನಿಕ). The sions.  
majority of the Kómatís in this State belong to  
the *Gavara* sub-division, which is so called after *Gauri* (ಗೌರಿ)  
consort of *Shiva*, their tribal goddess *Kanyaka Paramésvari*  
being considered an incarnation of this goddess.

*Tuppada Kómatís* ("Ghee" Kómatí or *Néti Kómatí* in  
Telugu) are said to have acquired the queer name by rea-  
son of their members picking up a quarrel on the occasion  
of a general dinner given to commemorate the event of  
*Kanyaka's* entering the funeral pyre, for not having been  
given ghee with their food. They are supposed to have  
seceded from the main body on this silly pretext.\*

*Trai-varnikas*.—This division is not found in this State.

Originally the Kómatís, it is stated, had 102 exoga- Exogamous  
mous divisions or *gótras*† and *gótra*-groups. Divisions One of these  
groups became extinct, the only surviving pair having  
entered the funeral pyre along with *Kanyaká Vásavámba*.  
Of such groups, 16 contain 2 *gótras* each, 7 three each,  
one contains four and one contains ten, the remaining 77  
groups being each represented by one *gotra*. A *Rishi* is  
named as associated with each of these groups, though it  
is difficult to guess the connection between the particular  
*Rishi's* name and that of the *gótra*. The Kómatís, however,  
account for this confusion of names, by saying that  
they did so to conceal their identity in order to escape  
from the persecution of King *Vishnuvardhana*, on account  
of whose amorous overtures their *Kanyaka* had to burn  
herself on the funeral pyre

It must, however, be remarked that the names of these  
*gótras* represent trees, plants or grain as in appellations  
having a totemistic origin, and that the men of these groups  
abstain or at any rate used to abstain generally from

\* These are said to be found in the Shimoga District, but no  
account has yet been obtained about them.

† A list of the various *gótra* groups with names of *Rishis* and of  
articles to be eschewed from use, is given as an appendix.

eating or otherwise utilizing the article denoted by the name of the *gōtra*. Though the same Rishi is named sponsor for two or three *gōtras*, intermarriages between such *gōtras* are not prohibited, as they would be among Brahmans. It is on the whole likely that these groups were divided on a different principle to the *gōtras* of Brahmans; and that the Rishi names came to be associated with them either to enhance their prestige or from a simple adoption of the names of Rishis of the Brahman priest of the family. In many families, however, they do not observe any rule of 'tabooing' particular articles. Sometimes when the original prohibition is forgotten, they regard the pandanus flower (ತಾಳೆ) as the article to abstain from using.

There are no hypergamous divisions.

Birth and  
naming.

The name-giving ceremony takes place on the 16th day of the birth of the child when the mother and the child are rid of the pollution of confinement and are purified by bath. The ceremony is like that for the Brahmans. In the evening the women assemble and put the child in a cradle. On some subsequent day, the *purōhit* draws up the horoscope recording the date and time of birth and the position of the planets at that time.

Their names like those of other high caste Hindus are taken from the names of gods of the Hindu Pantheon; but the following may, to some extent, be said to be peculiar.

For men, *Akka setti* (ಅಕ್ಕ ಶೆಟ್ಟಿ), *Yangayya setti* (ಯಂಗಯ್ಯ ಶೆಟ್ಟಿ), *Chalamayya* (ಚಲಮಯ್ಯ), *Changayya setti* (ಚಂಗಯ್ಯ ಶೆಟ್ಟಿ), *Kusuma setti* (ಕುಸುಮ ಶೆಟ್ಟಿ), *Kappayya* (ಕಪ್ಪಯ್ಯ), *Kokkayya* (ಕೊಕ್ಕಯ್ಯ).

For women, *Akkamma*, (ಅಕ್ಕಮ್ಮ), *Vāsavamma* (ವಾಸಮ್ಮ), *Sanjivamma* (ಸಂಜೀವಮ್ಮ), *Giramma* (ಗಿರಮ್ಮ), *Yangamma* (ಯಂಗಮ್ಮ), and *Mangamma* (ಮಂಗಮ್ಮ).

They are extremely fond of shortening their names and the terms of endearment, such as, *Pāpadu* (ಪಾಪಡು), *Chinnōdu* (ಚಿನ್ನೋಡು), *Chinnasāmi* (ಚಿನ್ನಸಾಮಿ), *Puttu* (ಪುಟ್ಟು), *Bidda* (ಬಿಡ್ಡ), and *Ammayya* (ಅಮ್ಮಯ್ಯ), are very common.

A person sometimes acquires a nickname, either by reason of his profession or any bodily deformity or other

similar cause, e.g., *Bangarayya* (ಬಂಗಾರಯ್ಯ goldman), *Mutyāla Setti* (ಮುತ್ಯಾಲಸೆಟ್ಟಿ dealer in pearls), *Nallappa* (ನಲ್ಲಪ್ಪ=Blackman).

When the child's real name happens to be that of the chief male member of the family, a different name is usually given, as the women consider it wanting in respect to utter the real name often.

Sometimes when the horoscopes of the bride and bridegroom, in an otherwise desirable match, do not agree, the girl gets a different name, and is assumed to have been born under the star which, by a well-known convention, is taken to answer to that name.

Occasionally these men share the superstition that when children successively die, it will be of some effect to name a new child after some low or opprobrious object. The reason is probably the belief that by pretending to despise the value of the child, they would mislead the powers above into a similar frame of mind so that they might consider it not worth their while to carry away this child too.

Such names as the following are given though very rarely: *Gunda* (ಗುಂಡ), *Gundi* (ಗುಂಡಿ) (round stone), *Tippa* (ತಿಪ್ಪ), *Tippi* (ತಿಪ್ಪಿ) (manure heap), and *Kallappa* (ಕಲ್ಲಪ್ಪ) stone.

Adoption is allowed and practised; the boy must be- Adoption.  
long to the same *gōtra*. The ceremonies observed are the same as those observed among the Brahmans, except that instead of the Vedic, the Puranic ritual is observed. Generally a deed of adoption is drawn up, and attested by the natural parents of the boy and by other witnesses. A dinner is given in honour of the occasion to which all the castemen are invited.

Exchange of daughters in marriage between two fami- Marriage.  
lies is strictly prohibited.

The girls are married before puberty, and polygamy is allowed though rarely practised. As in the other respectable classes of Hindus, a second wife is almost never taken unless there are strong reasons, such as want of children or incurable disease in the woman. Being generally in better circumstances, a *Kómati* perhaps resorts to an additional marriage oftener than others.

Besides the well recognized rules of prohibited degrees for marriage, they have one or two peculiar restrictions. The *gótras* of the maternal uncles of the bride and bridegroom should not be the same. There should be no "turning back of the creeper" as they say, that is when a girl has married into a family, the latter cannot give a girl in marriage to that girl's family ever afterwards. Even in some other castes (such as Brahmans) there is a feeling against such marriages, but Kómatís observe the rule very strictly. Another most important rule is that a boy is obliged to marry his maternal uncle's daughter, however unattractive she may be, and conversely, the maternal uncle must give his daughter to his nephew (sister's son), however poor. A man may marry, and even preferentially does marry, a girl of the sect to which his mother or paternal grandmother belongs, but not of the section to which his maternal grandmother belongs. In addition to these rules, there is another which prohibits marriage relations between the two families belonging to two *gótras* of the same group as shown elsewhere.

Girls must be married before they reach the age of puberty, and the rule is as strictly observed as among Brahmans. The Kómatís have generally been out-heroding herod in this respect, and the silly practice of marrying babies was practised among them more frequently than in other castes, before the Infant Marriage Regulation set down the minimum limit at eight years of age. The chief motive leading to this sin is the desire to see children married before some fond elderly member leaves the world.

If a girl reaches womanhood before marriage, she will be put out of caste, and the parents partake of the social odium and have to undergo *práyashchitta*.

#### Marriage ceremonies.

In the matter of marriage ceremonies, they have a few special characteristics, but closely follow the practices of the Brahman caste, though the Vedic ritual is not employed.

The horoscopes of the boy and the girl are compared by the priest and have to agree according to certain rules of astrology. The *gótras* should tally as already described. This proceeding is known as *Ghatitártham* (ಘಟಿತಾರ್ಥಮು).

With true commercial spirit, they haggle about the amount to be paid to the male candidate as *Varadakshina*

(or present to bridegroom) known by the term *pana* or price. In a few cases such as that of an old man wishing to marry, they exact a price, as in other castes, for the girl, but the converse is more common and more systematically agreed to beforehand among Kómatís. The price depends upon the social position of both the parties and not infrequently on the quantity of jewellery which bridegroom's party are willing to present to the bride.

In a formal meeting of their castemen and Brahmans, the couple to be married are seated together and *arati* is performed to them. The engagement is announced, and written *lagnapatrika* or marriage letters are exchanged between the parents. This is followed by *dukshina* and *tám-búla* to Brahmans and others, and a small dinner to a few castemen.

Before the marriage ceremonies begin, *Hurilya* (ಹುರಿಯಿಳಿ) that is, the worship of the deceased married women of the family, takes place. Five or more married women are invited, anointed and bathed. A *kalasa* is set up in the central part of the house and worshipped. The married women are presented with bodice cloths and other articles and are asked to dinner.

The real marriage ceremonies begin with the construction of the *chappara* or the marriage pandal. This structure is supported on sixteen pillars arranged in four rows, the central four being set up on the marriage dais. One of these latter is of the *Kalli* (*Euphorbia Tirukalli*) tree and is called the 'milk post.' *Púja* is made to the hole dug to receive this post, and silver, gold, pearl, coral and ruby (said to be five *ratnas* or gems) are placed at the bottom and a little milk and ghee poured into it. Washed cloths striped with turmeric are wrapped round it and a package containing nine kinds of grain (ನವಧಾನ್ಯ) is also tied to it. Five married ladies singing marriage songs, set up the post. A feast called *Dévatáprasta* (ದೇವತಾಪ್ರಸ್ತ) or God's feast, is prepared and all the castemen are invited to dinner.

The marriage always takes place in the bride's house. The bridegroom's party arrive there on the evening of the day on which the God's feast has been given, and are lodged in a house prepared for them by the bride's father, who has to be their host. They go to a temple near by with the married women of the party carrying a *kalasa*; there the bride's parents and their friends meet and welcome them formally. They are given a sweet drink of jaggery water to refresh them after the journey, after which



the *Varapūja* or formal reception of the bridegroom is performed by the bride's father and mother.

The bridegroom is then taken with music and other honours to the bride's house. There the *nischitārtha* or confirmation of the agreement takes place. The bridegroom's party have to carry with them betel-leaves and nuts, five jag-gory cubes, five cocoanuts, some turmeric roots, *kunku-ma*\* and a dress cloth and two bodice cloths. The bride accompanied by a companion (ತೋಡು ವೆಂದಿ ಕೂಡುರು) or bride's maid, comes out and takes her seat along with the bridegroom on a plank.† The Puróhit performs *Punyáhaváchana* or purificatory ceremony. The worship of Maháalakshmi is performed next as follows, in a manner peculiar to this caste.

Some coins amounting to 4 Rs. 12 as. (called *Múdumálle-rūka*—ಮೂಡುಮಲ್ಲರೂಕ) and a pie piece (called *Basavanna's* pie), a lump of *Vibhúti* (ball of ashes) and a pair of nut-crackers are placed on a rubbing stone.‡ A new cloth is also placed near, and *pūja* is offered to it all in the name of Maháalakshmi. When this is over, the parents of the bride and the bridegroom stand up and with folded hands ask for the permission of the *Sabha* to contract the intended alliance. This being granted, they proceed to draw up the *Vartanalupatti* (ವರ್ತನಾಲಪಟ್ಟಿ) or the list of customary payments, comprising several items. They are quite punctilious in this matter, and no customary item is omitted nor any fresh item admitted. Lists of these payments are carefully pre-served for use on such occasions.

\* Married women, according to old orthodox notions, have to paint their cheeks and limbs yellow by rubbing with turmeric powder and washing. A spot of red saffron powder called *kunkuma* (ಕುಂಕುಮ) on the forehead, and glass bangles on their wrists, and sometimes gold or jewelled screws in holes on their left nostril and both ears, are other signs of a woman having her husband alive, who is known as a *Suman-gali* (ಸುಮಂಗಲಿ in Sanskrit) and *Muttaide* (ಮುತ್ತೈದೆ) in Kannada. The articles belonging to the toilet of such a woman are considered auspicious, and are often requisitioned as presents during marriages.

† Indians are all accustomed to squat on the floor; and planks about 3 ft. by 2 ft. or of less size are provided as seats to be used when they sit for ceremonial occasions or for dinners. Such planks are sometimes covered over with a shawl or carpet. "To sit on a plank (ಮಣ್ಣಿನ ಮೇಲೆ ಕೂಡುವುದು)" is the expression used to denote a sitting in state on the marriage dais, or in exhibition on similar ceremonial and auspicious occasions.

‡ That is, a round sand stone used for getting sandal paste by rubbing a stick of sandal with water over it.

The two parties exchange *tâmbûla* as a ratification of the contract and other *tâmbûlas* are given to some persons as witnesses. Some married ladies then present the bride with the dress cloth brought by the bridegroom, which she wears. One of the bodice cloths is presented to the bride's maid, the remaining one being the bride's. Both these are afterwards presented by some elderly ladies with cocoanuts, fruits, etc., placed in the folds of their garments.

The next ceremony is known as the pounding of turmeric and the grinding of wheat, and the mothers of the parties to marry are the chief actors. The ordinary household mortar and grinding mill are employed. They place turmeric roots, *kunkuma* and coloured rice, in two new wicker baskets and make a show of pounding them with a wooden pestle. All this is apparently to symbolise the importance of these household operations in the married life of the couple.

The next day is the chief one and is crowded with ceremonial functions. Early in the morning, the bride and the bridegroom have what is called *male-niru* in their own places. Four brass vessels filled with red water (made by dissolving turmeric and lime), are placed at the corners of a square, and cotton thread is passed round their necks three or five times. The bride and her mother (or the bridegroom and his mother) stand together and the water of the vessels is poured on their backs by some married women, while the *Purôhit* recites verses and women sing songs. The two stand one behind the other alternately and bend down. On this occasion, near relatives of the mother present her each with a dress cloth and a bodice cloth, it being almost compulsory that her parents or brothers should make this present.

The parties are then bathed, and each party attends to its own *Nândi* or invocation of the gods and ancestors for the successful carrying out of the ceremony.

The ceremonies up to *Upanayana*, i.e., *Jatakarma* etc., are gone through for the bridegroom. He gets out of the *Brahmacharya* (studentship) by performing *Vratu-samâ-vartana*. This is followed by *Kâsi-Yâtra*. The young man is dressed as for a travel and carries a small handful of rice and other provisions tied up in packages in his upper garment. Thus accoutred, he cuts a queer figure and sets out with stick and umbrella on a pretended visit to Benares. The parents of the bride meet him and implore him to

forego his trip, promising their daughter in marriage. They wash his feet and take him home and present him with new cloths.

The next item is known as *sāram* (ಸಾರಂ) or pots-bringing ceremony. This among other (non-Brahman) castes is called bringing of *airane* (ಐರಣಿ).

The bride's mother accompanied by some married women goes in procession to a potter's house, walking under a canopy of cloth held at the four corners and raised in the middle with a stick. They take with them the various auspicious articles (*mangaladravya*) such as turmeric, *kunkuma*, *appala* (thin black-gram cakes) and *kajjāya* (sweetened cakes). *Pūja* is made to the kiln and from it ten pots of medium size, twelve pans or plates, four lamp-stands, three small pots and two large pots are taken out. The potter washes them and paints them with *chunam*, drawing a variety of geometrical figures thereon. Yellow thread is tied round the neck of each pot and some grains, dried dates, some edible tubers (ಕಂದಗಡ್ಡೆ, ಚಾಮಗಡ್ಡೆ,) turmeric roots, rolls of palm-leaf leaves (ಚೆವ್ವಾಕುಲು), black glass beads (ಕರೀಮಣಿ) limes and rice are all put into them. The *Puróhit* does *Punyāhamichana* or purificatory ceremony. Then the mother of the bride wraps round her loosely on her dress a new *panche* (man's cloth) and worships the pots. Thereupon the pots are brought by the married ladies to the bride's house and placed apart in a room. When this ceremony is going on, the bride's mother is presented by the bridegroom's party with a dress cloth (called ಪುಲು ಮುಡುಪುಳಿರ) and the potter also receives his customary fees. The *panche* which the mother used is kept near the sacred pots.

Then some married women and a number of young boys go in procession to an anthill and after washing and making *pūja* to it take out some earth\* of it. The boys† carry this earth on their heads; and it is spread evenly underneath the pots. A washed cloth is placed as a cover over the pots, which thereafter are styled *Kalāsas*.

Near these pots on a sand-stone, a cone made of turmeric paste, is set up to represent Gauri, the consort of Siva. The bride goes there dressed in new cloths with a wearing cloth thrown over her shoulders and

\* This is euphemistically styled "gold from an ant-hill."

† These boys are styled, in Telugu, *bāla-nagarālu* ಬಾಲನಗರాలు (a word of which it is difficult to make out the signification—*Bala*, young and *nagarālu*, cities or towns.)

*bhashinga* tied to her forehead and worships the image. It is only after this *pūja* that she may enter the marriage pandal where she goes wrapped in a loose veil of a white cloth or *panche*. \*

A goldsmith is called in to prepare the *tālī* out of gold provided by the bridegroom's father, when the Gauri-pūja is going on inside. As it is considered auspicious for the gold to melt easily and not to break in working, the purest gold is brought for the purpose. The goldsmith gets a customary present for his service.

Pūja is then offered to the 102 *Gótras* of the caste, each *gótra* being represented by an arecanut which is afterwards kept tied up in a piece of yellow cloth. The Brahmin *puróhit* duly consecrates a sacred thread and repeating the *mantras*, puts it on round the neck of the bridegroom, after the blessings of the Brahmins assembled. Then the bride's mother comes and gives the bridegroom *madhuparka*, which is composed of a piece of the plaintain fruit dipped in honey or sugar and milk, which he swallows.

Then follows the *Kanyádánam* or the giving away of the bride. The bride and the bridegroom stand on the marriage dais, facing each other and with feet each in a new wicker basket, called *mettakki-gúde* (ಮೆಟ್ಟುಕೈ ಗುಡೆ) in Kannada. The bride is either carried or led to the place by her maternal uncle. A screen is held between the couple. The *puróhitis* on both sides chant the appropriate verses and at the appointed time, which will be particularly watched by calculation or with the help of a watch, the screen is raised, and the bride and the bridegroom each puts a handful of cummin seed and jaggery on the head of the other. The *Kanyádánam* or the giving away of the girl by her parents takes place while the *Puróhit* is chanting *mantras*. After the couple are seated, *kankana†* or wrist threads are tied to their wrists, the bride tying it to her husband and the latter to her.

The *tālī* or *māngalya* is then tied round the neck of the bride by her husband; and the bride and bridegroom are made to throw handfuls of rice on each other's head. This is called *Akshatārōpaṇa*. *Pradhāna hōma*, *lāja hōma*

\* This veil cloth is used for tying up packages of things, such as grain, etc., to present to the girl by placing them in her cloth.

† A *kankana* is a thread of white and black wool twisted together with a turmeric root and an iron ring attached to it.

and *aupāsana* are performed. On the night and during the successive days of the marriage (both morning and evening), the *aupāsana* is repeated. *Nalugu*\* is also performed both morning and evening.

On the next day in the morning, another non-essential ceremony takes place, that known as *chirakāla-muhūrtam* (ಚಿರಕಾಲ ಮುಹೂರ್ತಮು). In front of the couple seated on plank seats, an earthen pot and a brass vessel filled with red colored water are placed on a cushion of rice spread over a plantain leaf. Round each vessel a cotton thread is wound and into them are thrown a silver bangle and a lime fruit unseen by the married pair, who should dip their hands and pick up what they find. The audience is ready to joke at the party picking up the wrong article, the bridegroom the bangle or the bride the lime. In the latter case, she is said to have scored over her husband.

After this, they are made to worship *Arundhati*, the wife of the Rishi Vasishta said to be in the constellation known as the "Great Bear."

The street procession takes place by the couple going with music, etc., on foot through the streets. But many now carry them on a palankin or in a carriage; and this innovation has sometimes led to a breach of peace as some of the other castes hold that Konatis cannot be allowed this privilege.

The chief event of the third day is the worship of the caste goddess Kanyaka-paramésvari, a function considered most important and done with utmost zeal and devotion. Early in the morning, two elderly women of the family purify themselves and go to a well or river in procession, with music, under a moving canopy (ನಡೆಸಪ್ಪರ). Two *Kalāsas* of silver vessels decorated with limes and drawings of a human face of chunam and with jewels and flowers are consecrated as representing the Kanyaka-paramésvari. Yellow thread is tied round them; and with the help of a Brahmin priest, the married women make *pūja* to these Kalāsas, which are then carried on silver or copper salvers to the temple of Kanyaka-paramésvari,

\* There is more fun and frolic than any religious or ceremonial significance in this. The bride and bridegroom are seated opposite each other and offer sandal, flowers, etc., to each other, and the assembly (chiefly of ladies) indulge in many a well-worn joke at the coyness of the maid, the forwardness of the boy, etc. Songs and music are also part of the programme.

the party going with all the pomp of music and shaded by a canopy. A Mailàri man decked in fantastic garb moves in front of this procession, dancing and singing the praises of the Kanyaka. Every Kómati whose house is on the way taken by the procession, offers fruit and *Arati* to the goddess. After worship in the temple, the Kalasas are taken to the marriage house, where they are placed in a central position and worshipped by the newly married couple, all the neighbours of the caste also bringing fruits and flowers and taking part in the *púja*. Some rich persons offer gold and silver flowers which are afterwards given to the *puróhit*. They generally carry out this ceremony with as much pomp as possible and often with considerable devotion.

The eatable things offered to the deity (chiefly some cleaned pulses soaked in water, fruit, jaggory water, etc.) are distributed to the castemen assembled; *támbúla* is given to all in the assembly with *dakshina* added to Brahmins. In the distribution of \**prásáda* to the castemen the order of precedence should be scrupulously observed as follows:—The bride and the bridegroom, representatives of the *gótra* of Kanyaka-paramésvari's birth (ಪೆಂಡಿ ಕುಲಗೋತಂ), a stranger, Ummadi Setti, Yajaman, the rest of the assembly. Then again some special presents of *támbúla* and *ravike*† are given to each of the following:—A representative of the Kanyaka's *Gótra*, an unmarried girl, a *bálanagara* boy, a stranger, the Ummadi Setti and the bride. The *Mailàri* gets also some special presents in addition to the customary cash payment ranging from Rs. 2 to 6. Sometimes he gets the present of a pair of *panches*.‡ Next after dinner at about 3 P.M. takes place *Gótrapúja*, otherwise called (ಶ್ರೀ ಕೃಷ್ಣರತ್ನೋಬಯವನಕಾಪೂಜಾ) the worship of 33 crores of gods. The bride and the bridegroom are seated together with an assembly of Brahmins and castemen, 33 small cones made of turmeric paste being arranged on a plank

\* *Prasáda* means the remains of eatables offered before God in worship or to some very honored guest, in the latter case only what has not been placed in his eating dish or leaf, being partaken by the followers.

† *Ravike* means a piece of new cloth about  $\frac{1}{2}$  yard by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  yards, which is cut and stitched into a vest for women.

‡ *Panche* is a sheet of white cloth with or without coloured borders generally of silk thread, about 3 yards by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  yards, which is used by males to wrap round the body loosely. The nether garment is generally somewhat longer and is tied round the loins with apron-like loose folds in front.

before them, to represent the 33 crores of gods inhabiting the *Svarga loka*. The bride and her party and then the bridegroom and his party separately do *pūja* to these cones ; and after that, the bride and bridegroom together with all those of his *gōtra* present, worship these symbols again. This last *pūja* is meant to incorporate the girl in the *gōtra* of her husband.

After this, a figure of a snake is drawn with a gold ring on rice spread on a plank and *Nāgendra pūja* or snake worship takes place. The rice and the ring are tied up in a cloth and placed near the *Sāram* pots.

The assembly thereafter receive the *tāmbūla* and disperse.

The fourth day has no events till the night except the daily prayers in the form of *Sāndhya vandana* and *aupāsana*.

After 11 at night takes place an important ceremony which is observed secretly and to which no Brahmins are invited. This is called by some *Muttaide pūja* (ಮುತ್ತೈದೆ ಪೂಜೆ), i.e., worship of women who died in the lifetime of their husbands, by some others, *Vasanta Madhava's* during (ವಸಂತ ಮಧವಪೂಜೆ), while yet others call it simply *Vaibhava Karma* (ವೈಭವಕರ್ಮಗಳು), or auspicious acts.

The account which the *Kōmatis* give of the ceremony is as follows :—

The rice kept on the previous day near the *Sāram* pots, with more added, if necessary, is soaked in water and pounded with jaggory and made into balls by married women in *madi*.<sup>\*</sup> Some of these balls are set apart in the names of deceased *muttaides* of the family, worshipped and distributed afterwards among the members of the bride's family. The remaining balls after a similar worship are distributed not only among the persons present, but also among absentees to whom they are subsequently sent according to a list kept in each family. The secrecy, however, with which this ceremony is conducted and the scrupulous exclusion of outsiders, has given rise to certain stories which the *Kōmatis* indignantly repudiate as calumnies. It is said that the *yajaman* or the head of the house worships a *Kalasa* naked in a room from which women and others are excluded, and then putting

<sup>\*</sup> *Madi* means clean state : the person bathes, puts on washed clothes not touched by others and keeps himself without contact with them not similarly pure.

on his clothes, distributes *prasāda* to his caste-fellows after sending away the Brahmin *puróhit*. Some, especially their rivals the Nagartas, add that they make a figure of a cow and filling it with red water cut it up and divide the members among various families. The meaning and intention of this story are plain; but it is difficult to assert whether it is or is not true.

Early the next morning after bathing, the couple perform *Séshahóma*, and then untie the *kankana* or wrist threads.

The ceremony called *Vāda-béram* (ship trade) is peculiar to this caste. The bride and the bridegroom dressed in fresh clothes with *bhāshinga* on their foreheads, go in procession to the temple. A paper boat is made. The bride's mother puts on an apron of the *panche* kept near the *śāram* pots and makes *pūja* to the toy boat placing therein some coloured raw rice and cooked rice coloured red and green, with cakes of sorts. The married pair also do likewise after her. The washerman then sets fire to it, and the Bálánagara boys carry away the ashes, throw them into a well or tank and bring therefrom a quantity of rubbish such as stone, and pieces of earthen pots, and present it to the bride's mother singing meaningless songs. As if to be recompensed for undergoing this annoyance, the bride's mother is presented with a *síre* and a *ravike*. Then the whole procession returns home, the bride's mother with *kalasa* and the couple walking under a moving canopy.

The couple are now seated together and two dolls are given to them and mock birth ceremonies of these dolls are acted.

The next is the worship of *Ghatti Kadiyam* or solid bangle. A solid silver bangle, a gold *kankana*, *mudi ungara*, two gold rings and one of silver, one silver toe-ring (ಪಿಂಚು) and two other silver small toe-rings (ಸುತ್ತಿ) are kept on a plank before the couple and after the usual worship, they are put on by them, the bridegroom using the *kankana* and the *minchu*, and the rest being given to the bride. The presence of these ornaments on the body of a person betokens the married state.

Then follow a number of ceremonies observed by the Brahmans also, such as, *Hasti Hasta Púja*, *Páñxu* or swinging on a plank, *pūja* of cocoanuts, *támbúla* to married couples, etc.



After the bride and the bridegroom have been swung seated together on a plank the best man (ತೋಡು ಪೆಂಡಿ ಕೊಡುಕು), and the bride's maid (ತೋಡುಪೆಂಡಿ ಕೊಡುಕು) are seated on it and are rocked by the *bálánagara* boys. After this, betel-leaves and arecanuts (powdered) are given to the real and the *pseudo* bride and bridegroom which they chew.

The *bálánagara* boys indulge in a great deal of frolic and impish mischief on this occasion, and such things have also become part of established ceremony. They rush in a body at night and cry out\* that the Kanyaka Goddess has prohibited further ceremonies, as the giving of presents to the bride and to the relatives, and run away and hide themselves. They have to be searched out and propitiated, and so a party go with music in solemn procession, and coax them back to the marriage hall with sweets and such other presents. Then the urchins remove the prohibition and the further ceremonies proceed.

For what is known as *Vaḍibálu* (ವಡಿಬಾಲು), the bride and the bridegroom are seated on planks. Near the *síram* pots Rice, turmeric roots, a cocoanut, two dolls, a comb a *kunkuma* box, an eye-salve box, jaggory and two *raṭikes* are put into the bride's upper garment, by five married women. These articles are tied up in packages in a *panche* and the bride must carry the whole, till she goes to her husband's lodging, whither she is conducted in state.

The next event is the general giving of wedding presents. All the *Kómatís* in the town, at least one member for each family, are expected to come and give their presents to the bride in the shape mostly of money, the amount depending upon the means of each party but not exceeding the limit of half a rupee. If any of the *Kómatís* cannot attend the ceremony in person, either on account of ill-feeling existing between the two families or for any other cause, they send their contribution through a proxy. It is said that the presents made by the bridegroom's party must be twice as much as those made by the other party. The sum thus collected together with the 4½ Rs. (or *mīdumáḷḷarúka*) presented at the time of *Maháalakshmi pūja* are used to give a present each to the bride's sister and to the maternal uncle; something is given for charity, and any balance that is left is given to the girl for some jewel.

\* ವಡಿಬಾಲು ಕಟ್ಟಿದಾನೆ ಚದಿಬಿಂಸಲು ಅಯ್ಯದಾನೆ ಕನ್ಯಕಾವ್ಯವಾರಿ ದುರಾಯಿ ಉಂಡಿ.

On the night of this day, the girl is taken formally to her new house, for *Grihapravéśam* (ಗೃಹಪ್ರವೇಶಂ) or entering into the husband's house. The husband and wife are decked in bridal costume, with *bhāshingya* on their foreheads, and the party go in state to the house where the bridegroom's party have been lodging. At the entrance, two married ladies wave *drati* and the couple enter the house, when their right feet should be placed first on the threshold, and the bride should upset with her foot a measure of rice kept on purpose in the way, to indicate the wish that there should be plenty of grain in her family granaries. They then sit side by side. A row of five cocoanuts is placed before them and *phalapūja* performed. The distribution of *tāmbūla* and *dakshina* to the assembly takes place before they disperse and the bride sleeps that night in her new home.

The next morning the girl goes back to her father's house with her husband, who has to be formally sent off by the parents-in-law. The pair are taken after dinner to a temple in procession with a *kalasa*. After worship there, the bridegroom is given certain additional presents known as *Vallam Varadokshina* (ವಲ್ಲಂವರದಕ್ಷಿಣ) to serve him during the journey -- a rope, a brass vessel (ಮುಚ್ಚು ಪಾತ್ರೆ), a new cloth, one rupee, a cocoanut and a pair of nut-crackers together with a quantity of rice and other provisions. The girl remains behind with her parents and the bridegroom and his party go back to his place.

The father of the bride generally gives some *Varadokshina* (ವರದಕ್ಷಿಣ) to the bridegroom according to previous agreement but the sum is not fixed by any caste custom. There is no custom of paying bride's price.

During the first year after the marriage, the girl is generally taken to the husband's house where she remains for a few days in the company of her mother or some other near relation and returns to her father's house.

During the first year and often during the subsequent years also, till the girl attains puberty, the son-in-law is invited for the *Gauri* and *Dipāvali* feasts, when rich presents are given to him. The husband and wife are fêted together on these occasions and *nalugu* takes place in the evenings with song and merriment. The young man also takes presents of clothes to the wife and her mother.

Again, it is the custom among the *Kómatas* as among the *Brahmans*, that the son-in-law and mother-in-law and

daughter-in-law and mother-in-law should not pass the same threshold in the Asháda month of the first year of marriage.

The most auspicious season for marriage is during the five months beginning with the lunar month of Mággha (मग़) (January-February).

Puberty  
ceremonies.

When a girl attains the age of womanhood, she is kept in a separate corner of the house, or in a separate room. The fact of puberty must be first announced by married women, if possible five of them together, as being first discovered by them. When this is known, the girl is given milk and plantains to eat. She is considered impure for seven days, and no person may approach her within a certain distance without incurring impurity which can be removed only by a bath and washing of clothes. Every evening, during these seven days, the girl is dressed in washed white clothes supplied by the village washerman. She is decorated, in her person, and seated on a plank seat in the presence of all the married women in the village, both Komatis and Brahmans. This is styled the ceremony of *Osage* (ಒಸಗೆ or ವಸಗೆ).

The seat for the girl is made up in a particular manner (known as spreading *dadiyam*) by five married women. They cover a plank over with a whitewashed strip of cloth supplied by the washerman, and stamp it on the four corners and in the centre with impressions of a right palm of the hand, with a red paint of turmeric and *chunam*. Flowers, turmeric, *kunkuma* (vermilion) and *akshate* (coloured rice) are thrown on the cloth. At the four corners, four brass lamp stands are kept burning and a thread of cotton yarn is wound round them thus enclosing the seat. The girl now sits on this seat. The women sing songs and present turmeric, *kunkuma*, flowers, etc. Five married ladies pound gingelly and jaggory which are made into balls and a little is given to the girl to eat. Then turmeric, *kunkuma* betel-leaves and nuts with flowers and balls made of gingelly seeds and jaggory are distributed to the women of the assembly who then disperse. This is repeated every evening, the seat being arranged as on the first day by the girl herself. She is made to bathe on the seventh day six times successively, to cleanse her of the impurity of the six days. On that day the married ladies that arranged the seats on the first day, are anointed with oil and bathed. New bangles are put on their hands and a *ravike* is presented to each. The girl is however considered to be in a state of comparative impurity for sixteen

days from the beginning of the period, and cannot enter the kitchen and other inner rooms of the house.

On the 1st, the 3rd or the 5th day, the news of the girl's puberty is sent to her husband's house with a washerman. He also carries presents of gingelly oil, jaggory, turmeric roots, *kunkuma*, green gram and a pair of *panches*, which are received at the husband's house. As a mark of joy, the husband's clothes are discoloured with red coloured water and a feasting on a small scale takes place. The washerman is dismissed with a present for his service.

Consummation of marriage is arranged for on an auspicious day ascertained with the help of an astrologer. Sometimes this event is put off if the *Nakshatra* or star under which the girl attained puberty, is considered to be unlucky.

The young man with his relations goes to his wife's father's house. On the day fixed, the couple are bathed and perform some *hóma*\* in the morning and a general dinner is given in honour of the occasion. At night after food, the husband and wife seated together perform *Phalapúja* and then they are led into the bedroom, only the ladies going inside. Before they withdraw, another *Phalapúja* takes place and cocoanuts are presented to all the married women present.

When a girl is married as an infant, she remains in her parent's house till she comes of age and till the consummation of her marriage takes place. In the meantime, whenever any auspicious event takes place in her husband's house, she goes with her parents and returns with them. It is the practice among *Kómatis* as among the Brahmins that the newly married girl should be taken to the husband's house during the first year of the marriage and in default, she cannot be taken there on the second year or any subsequent even year.

When the girl is first sent to her husband's house, the ceremony of house-entering has to be performed once again in the husband's house.

An auspicious time is settled for starting from her father's place. The girl is anointed and bathed and there is a feast in the house. The girl wears a new cloth and is presented with fruits, *támbúla*, etc., by her mother, the

\* *Hóma* is a sacrifice performed by pouring ghee with the invocation of *mantras* addressed to various deities.

presents being wrapped in the folds of her garment. Rising from the seat, she prostrates herself before the household god and then her parents and other elders and receives their blessings. She goes round to the houses of her friends and relatives to bid them good-bye, and generally receives some presents from them. The Kómatís are very particular about the omens, and discontinue their journey when any ill omens occur. The mother or in her absence some other elderly female member, accompanies the girl together with some male members.

On arriving at the husband's town, the party are received at the temple in front of the village. The bride and her husband are seated together with a *kalasa*, before them, and are besmeared with turmeric and sandal. The god in the temple is worshipped and after the usual distribution of *támbúla* and *kunkuma* to the ladies, they are led in a procession to the husband's house. At the entrance, two married women wave *árati* and throw out the coloured water contained in the plate, the ceremony being mainly meant to ward off the effects of any evil eye that may have lighted on them. The couple enter the house, the wife having to place her right foot first in the house and to upset a measure filled with rice kept on the threshold. *Phala-púja* takes place after this and *árati* is waved by married women. Coconuts, *támbúla* and *dakshina* are then distributed among the Brahmans who have come there. This ceremony takes place between 8 and 9 P.M., the party having to come to the town in the evening at the hour when cows return home, which is technically known as *Gódhúti lagna*. That night, a dinner is given to all the relatives in honour of the event.

The average age of a boy to marry may be put down as sixteen. As already noticed, this caste is particularly addicted to the celebration of early marriages.

Marriages are always determined by the parents.

The caste, as a whole, are becoming alive to the evils of infant marriage and are evincing a tendency to raise the marriageable age. But the time can never be postponed beyond puberty.

Widow marriage.  
Divorce.

Widow marriage is not allowed.

Divorce, in the sense of complete dissolution of marriage, is not known among the caste. When a woman is

found unchaste she is expelled from her husband's house and sometimes certain ceremonies called *Ghata-srādha* (ಘಟ ಶ್ರಾದ್ಧ) *pseudo* funeral ceremonies, are performed to her. There after neither connection nor even relationship exists between her and her husband, but she cannot remarry.

Adultery on the part of the woman is regarded with abhorrence and results in her excommunication.

In funeral ceremonies, they are mostly influenced by the Brahmins whose customs they have taken up entirely. The ceremonies observed are the same as those of the Brahmins but the ritual is *Puranic*. Funeral ceremonies.

When the approach of death is apprehended, a Brahman prepares *Panchakavya*\* and administers it to the dying man for purifying his body. Often a cow† is presented with *dakshina* to a Brahman. When the man arrives at the last moments,‡ a gold piece and leaves of *Tulasi* (sacred basil) are put into his mouth and every one of the relatives pours some water into his mouth, as the last service which they can do to him on earth.

As soon as life is extinct, the body is bathed and wrapped in a new cloth and is placed flat on a bamboo frame called *chatta* (ಚಟ್ಟು). The chief mourner bathes in cold water and wears wet clothes. He then kindles a fire in front of the house (*s'avāgni* ಸವಾನ್ನಿ) and does *hōma* for the purpose of obtaining expiation of six kinds.§ In an earthen pot, rice

\* *Panchakavya* are the "five products of the cow" (*i. e.* milk, buttermilk, ghee, urine and excreta) mixed together and consecrated with *mantras*. When the mixture is swallowed, in the prescribed manner, it is said to purify the body and cleanse it of the effects of all previous sins.

† The receipt of a cow as a gift is considered a very low act requiring *prāyaschitta* to purify the donee. Indeed it seems to be the belief, that the more efficacious a gift to the donor, the more heinous a sin it is on the part of the donee to receive it.

‡ Among Brahmins and other higher castes, they try to make the dying man pronounce the name of *Nārāyana*, and shout it in his ears, so that it may at least occur to his mind. Kōmatas so identify this name with the moment of death, that they do not pronounce it on ordinary occasions, and are reported to hold a solemn consultation whether the moment has arrived for making a sick man pronounce "that word."

When a man's name happens to be *Nārāyana*, they corrupt it into something else as *Nārāya*.

§ The six objects of expiation are:—

ಉದ್ವೇಗವ್ಯಯ, ಅಧೋಚ್ಛವ್ಯಯ, ಅಂತರಿಕ್ಷಮರಣ, ಖಟ್ಟಮರಣ, ಆಕಾಶಮರಣ, and ಅಸ್ಥಾನಮರಣ.

is taken for *pathi pinda* (ಪಥಿಪಿಂಡ), that is for offering it when the body is placed on the ground half way. Here the bearers change sides. On arrival at the cremation ground, ceremonies called *Paithri karma* (ಪೈತ್ರಿಕರ್ಮ), *Chiti Samskara* (ಚಿತಿ ಸಂಸ್ಕಾರ) and *Préta Dahana hōma* (ಪ್ರೇತದಹನಹೋಮ) are performed before placing the dead body on the funeral pyre. Then ghee is poured on the body, perhaps with the object that it may facilitate the complete burning of every part of it, and some coins (gold or silver) are placed on the four corners of the pyre. The chief mourner perambulates the bier three times with a pot on his shoulders, filled with water, and the by-standers throw a stone at the pot at the end of each turn. The Brahman repeats the appropriate *mantra* and the chief mourner lights the pyre. The *Nagna Sradhdha* is performed to remove blindness, deafness or other bodily defect that may possibly have afflicted the deceased in life. The party stop at the cremation ground till the body is half burnt and then, bathing in a well or a tank, all return home. The bearers and mourners before going to their respective houses have to look at a light kept burning on the spot where the deceased expired. This light is kept for 15 days. During this period at meal time before any member of the family eats, food and water are kept near the light and some cooked rice is thrown over the roof of the house to be eaten by the crows. On the 16th day the light is put out.

From the second day forwards, obsequial ceremonies called *Nityavidhi* are performed every morning. They are the same as those observed by Brahmans and are as follow :—

A large sized pebble is set apart (*silā sthāpana*) and the ghost of the deceased which is believed to be hovering about without going to the other world, is invoked into it (*Préta-dvādhana*). This is washed with water in which a cloth is immersed and sesamum seed are thrown (*Vāsōdaka* and *Tilōdaka*).

Then *Pindas* (balls of cooked food) are offered and then thrown to the crows. If the latter do not readily carry them away, it is considered that the deceased has not had all his earthly desires fulfilled, and the survivors promise that his last wishes will be carried out.

On the third day, the ceremony of *sanchayana* (ಸಂಚಯನ) is performed; the ashes of the deceased are collected and

scattered in water and the unburnt bones, if any, are collected and thrown in water or are kept by, to be carried to a sacred river, such as the Káveri or the Ganga, if the family can afford the expense.

On the 15th day, after the *Nityavidhi*, the stone is removed after *sildavisarjana*, the ghost being supposed to leave this temporary abode. A *hóma* is performed to get rid of the *sútaka* (pollution). The *Préta* and *Préta sakha* and *Rudra* are worshipped, all the male agnates (having no father alive) taking part in it.

On the 16th day, a he-calf is branded and set at large to roam about ownerless and this ceremony called *Vrishviti-sarga*, is believed to rid the soul of its *Pais'acha* character. Then *djya sráddha* is performed, for the purpose of purifying the deceased's soul to render it fit to take the next form, that of *Vasurúpa* (ವಸುರೂಪ). ✓

*Shódasa sráddha* (ಪೊದಕಾಶ್ರದ್ಧ) or 16 *sráddhas* which properly speaking should be spread over the whole year, are finished this day as it would otherwise be inconvenient for the family to remain in pollution during the entire period.

Then follows *Sapindi-karana* or uniting the *pinda* (corpus) of the deceased with those of the ancestors. This is believed to give the deceased a higher spirit nature (*Vasu Rudra* and *Aditya*).

All the agnates bathe after this and get rid of their *Sútaka* this day.

The next day they have *Vaikuntha Samárádhana* (ವೈಕುಂಠ ಸಮಾರಾಧನ) feeding the Brahmins, to ensure for the deceased an entry into *Vaikuntha* or the abode of Vishnu, the region of bliss.

Even after this course of ceremonies is run through, the chief mourner is not considered as having shaken off *Sútaka* completely for one year. He has during this period to perform monthly ceremonies (ಮಾಸಿಕ) on days corresponding to that on which the deceased died and also similar ceremonies on the 12 new-moon days. At the end of the year the *Sráddha* and *Vaikuntha Samárádhana* are to be repeated. This completes the period of mourning and it is only after that, that the chief mourner may perform any auspicious events, such as marriage in his family. The period of mourning lasts for sixteen days for all the agnates



of seven degrees and for five days for the rest. If a child under six months dies, a mere bath (overhead) removes the pollution ; so also a bath only is taken for the death of a daughter's son.

During the period of pollution, the mourners should not wear caste marks and should abstain from sweets, milk, betel-leaves and nuts, flowers, sandal, etc. They must observe sexual abstinence and may not attend to their daily ablutions in the usual form.

The Kómatís perform *Kāla Srāddha* that is Srāddhas on the day of the year corresponding to the day of death.

They observe the dark fortnight of *Bhādrapada* (August-September) as the period fixed for performing ceremonies for propitiating the ancestors in general. On the last day of the month (new-moon day), they give rice and other provisions with some money to Brahmans.

For a childless ancestor, some one of the near agnates performs the obsequial ceremonies. Until they are performed, no auspicious ceremonies can take place in the house of any of the agnates.

If a person meets with a violent death, a period of three to six months is allowed to elapse before beginning the funeral ceremonies. A *Prāyaschitta* for purifying the *prēta* (ghost) of the evil of such death is first performed and then the rest of the ceremonies as are usual are gone through.

Generally before beginning any auspicious ceremony, such as marriage, the female ancestors are worshipped by installing a *kalasa* in the central portion of house, and offering *tāmbūla*, with some sweets, to it by way of worship. Married women are invited and are entertained at a dinner.

When a second wife is subject to any ailment, it is generally attributed to the trouble caused by the deceased and accordingly the latter is worshipped like other female ancestors.

No clothes are burnt with the dead body. In fact, even the one cloth with which the body is wrapped, is afterwards removed and the nakedness is covered by means of plantain leaves. Cooked rice and ghee are thrown into the pyre when it is lit, to propitiate *Agni*.

Social  
status.

There are no traces visible of the caste having had any unsettled or wandering habits. The Kómatís are very

conservative in their customs and manners and are extremely unwilling to move from their settled places. They have no recognized head-quarters but are found largely in big trading centres. The places where they are most numerous in the State are Mysore, Bangalore and Chintamani.

Penukonda in the Krishna District, where their tribal goddess is reputed to have been born, is believed to be their head-quarters, but very few of this State have seen the place.

There is nothing peculiar in the construction of their houses except that in the older type of them, the portion facing the street is built as open stalls for trading, and the hinder portion, which is reached through a long narrow passage, is used as the dwelling house. As a consequence, such houses have hardly any windows and are ill-lighted and ill-ventilated.

No outsider can be admitted into the caste. Some transgressions such as eating flesh or eating with a lower caste are inextinguishable and involve expulsion from caste; and they are quite as strict as Brahmans in this respect. Less serious faults can be atoned for by suitable *Prāyascitta* (purification) and payment of a fine to the caste Guru who gives *Tirtha* and *prasāda* (holy water and food and flowers that have been offered to God) as a token of accepted expiation.

They follow the Hindu law of inheritance. At the time of partition, an extra share (*Jeshthāmsa*) is generally allowed to the eldest brother. Sometimes *\*illātam* is practised, but rarely. Inheritance

Trial by ordeal has long been out of practice in this caste as in many higher castes. Oaths are taken in enquiries where regular witnesses cannot be had. Swearing in the names of their tribal goddess and of the parents and children is common. One form of oath-taking is making the swearer stand before an image in a temple with a garland of red flowers round his neck and the book *Ramayana* in his hands and asking him to make a statement

---

*\*Illātam* (ಇಲ್ಲಾತಮ್) somewhat funnily spelt and pronounced 'illatom' is a compound of the Dravidian term *illu* a house or family and 'atam' (status or acting). When one has no sons, a daughter is married to a man who agrees to become a member of the family and who thereafter resides in the father-in-law's house and inherits his estate for his children. This relationship is styled *illātam*.

as to a fact. Such swearing is very rarely, if at all, resorted to. They believe in omens, sorcery, oracles, and other such superstitions according to their individual culture and idiosyncrasies.

**Food.** Kómatis are strict vegetarians and totally abstain from liquor.

Brahmans are the only class in whose house they eat, while Bédas, Mádigas and Korachas are the only lower classes who eat in the houses of the Kómatis. Though Kómatis are considered so high in the social scale, it is really surprising that even some of the low class people do not eat in their houses nor drink water touched by them. Mailaris who profess to be a sub-division of the Balajas eat in the houses of Kómatis, but it is due to the fortuitous circumstance that, as noted above, they became attached to the Kómatis and were considered as their children.

**Occupation** Kómatis believe that their original occupations were those fixed by orthodox opinion for the Vaisya caste, i.e., agriculture, cattle-rearing and commerce. The first two are almost never followed in the present day. Any lands they hold, they farm out to raiyats on *vâra* or other tenures. They are at present, mainly a trading class in South India and are neither artizans nor hunters. Some have of late taken to Government service. Change of profession does not lower them in status so long as the profession adopted is not a base one such as sweeping, scavenging, etc., in which case the man loses caste.

**Religion.** They employ Brahmans for religious and ceremonial purposes. Indeed no other caste is more attached to the Brahmans and is more dependent on them for religious purposes than the Kómatis. Unlike other castes, the women of this caste make it an article of their religious duty to offer *tâmbûla*, fruits and flowers to the Brahman ladies on every festive occasion, some on every Tuesday and some others almost every day and receive their blessings, in the efficacy of which they have implicit faith. Their tribal goddess Kanyaka, is generally worshipped by a man of the Mailari caste, but latterly even for this they employ Brahmans, who seem to satisfy their scruples against worshipping a tribal goddess of a lower caste, by postulating a divine nature for the *kanyaku* as being an incarnation of Siva's consort Pârvati.

There are both Saivas and Vaishnavas among them. They worship all the gods of the Hindus without showing exclusive preference to any. Besides, each family has a tutelary deity to whom special offerings are made on such occasions as marriage or illness.

In common with the Brahmans and other higher castes, the Kómatas worship *Nāga* or the serpent god. This worship is generally confined to women and is carried on on a large scale once a year on the fifth (5th) day of the bright fortnight of Srāvana (July and August). The representations of serpents are cut in stone slabs and are set up round an *Asvattha* tree on a platform, on which is also generally planted a margosa tree. These snakes in stones are set up in performance of vows and are said to be specially efficacious in curing bad sores and other skin diseases and in giving children. The women go to such places for worship with milk, fruits and flowers on the prescribed day which is observed as a feast day. The stones are washed, smeared over with turmeric, sandal, etc., and offerings of milk curds and fruit are made to them and some *dakshina* is given to the *puróhit* and other Brahmans. Sometimes they search out the holes and pour some milk for live serpents. The previous day (4th of this month) is also held sacred for the *pūja*. Other important days on which the serpent worship is done are the 6th days (ಪುಷ್ಯ) of the bright fortnight of Márgasira, Pushya and Mágha.

The *Asvattha* (ಅಶ್ವತ್ಥ) or peepul tree is another object of worship, being held to be the special abode of Vishnu or Narayana, who is hence known as *Asvattha Narayana*. The margosa is considered the female to go in conjunction with this tree and one is planted with this and a ceremony of mock marriage is conducted before consecrating these trees. The main feature of this *pūja* is to go round and round the tree a fixed number of times every day. This worship is believed to cure mental derangement such as possession of devils, and also to help childless women to conceive. The benefit of a clean bath early in the morning followed by open air physical exercise especially to women of the better classes whose habits are so sedentary, are valuable consequences of this form of worship and the devotees, it is no wonder, are often rewarded with the fulfilment of their desires.

*Tulasi* (Basil) and *Bilva* plants are considered sacred and the former plant is planted on a well built platform and worshipped.

Their patron god is *Nagarésvara* (ನಗರೇಶ್ವರ) and the goddess is *Kanyakaparamésvari* (ಕನ್ಯಕಾಪರಮೇಶ್ವರಿ), of which the worship is obligatory. They do not worship any other minor gods; but when at the time of epidemics or otherwise, the villagers worship *Mári* (ಮಾರಿ) and other village gods, the *Kómatís* have no objection to contribute their quota and offer cocoanuts and flowers.

In their dress and ornaments, *Kómatís* do not differ much from the *Brahmans*. The dress of males consists of a *panche* (tied round the waist), a *dhótra* (or an upper-cloth), a turban and sometimes a long coat; of late, however improved methods of dressing are adopted. The *Komati* woman wears a *sire* and a *rambe*. *Komati* women are not noted for personal appearance and they are particular in colouring their limbs and cheeks with turmeric. The hair of the head is gathered into a long plait and is allowed to hang straight down on the back. Long hair is considered as one of the essentials of beauty and those who are wanting in this, use yak-tails (ಚಾಂ) which are enmeshed with the natural hair and plaited. The women are as a rule very profuse in their jewels and large sums are invested in gold ornaments.

*Kómatís* as *Vaisyas* wear the sacred thread and their right thereto is never disputed. The married condition of a man is denoted by his wearing two or three *yagnóparvitas* (of three threads each) and by the presence of a toe-ring on the second toe of the right leg. The married condition of a woman is indicated by her wearing the *táli*, a nose screw on the left of the nose, wearing of *Bugadi* (ಬುಗಡಿ), *O'le* (ಓಲೆ), glass bangles in the wrists and toe-rings.

4. Differing from the *Brahmans*, the widows, though they shave their heads, continue to wear a few ornaments (bangles, etc.) on their person, while the *Brahman* widows eschew all such vanity.

*Kómati* women sometimes undergo tattooing when in girlhood, but very rarely afterwards. The operation is done by a *Koracha* woman. The designs represent *Brindavana* (ಬ್ರಿಂದಾವನ) or bed of the sacred basil, central *bottu* or a dot, on the forehead a plantain bush or some geometrical figure.

Caste council.

They have caste councils at the head of which are *Setti* and *Yajaman* who get the first seats at all meetings and

first *támbúlas* on occasions like marriage. These councils are competent to judge and decide questions relating to the tribal disputes ; and they should be consulted whenever they have to invite their Brahman Guru Bháskarachárya to visit their place. Of such Bháskaracháryas there are several families who have jurisdiction over Kómatis in different defined districts. They make periodical visits, enquire into and decide breaches of caste rules and tribal disputes and give *Tirtha* and *Prasáda* to their disciples. They derive a fairly regular revenue from the presents given by these men on such occasions.

The Kómatis have another functionary called ~~M~~ *m*-madi Setti who is jocularly believed to sit at the head of the table at large dinner parties to regulate the distribution of food. They are said to have a convention that what he declines, other guests are all to decline, and that he regulates his conduct by the quantity of the particular dish available, as he sits near the kitchen and can see everything inside. 9

It is somewhat curious that this caste of traders should have no trade guilds. Each man looks to his own business, a knowledge of which he keeps carefully to himself. But they have a strong clannish feeling and are ready to set up their unfortunate castemen on their legs if they can do so without much sacrifice on their own part.

---

## APPENDIX.

## LIST OF GÓTRAS.

Gótra.	Rishi.	Article tabooed.
1 <i>Granthi Sila kula</i> (ಗ್ರಂಥಿಶಿಲಕುಲ)	Gautama (ಗೌತಮ)	(ದೇವಕಾಂಚನ ಪುಷ್ಪ) Flower of the tree <i>Bauhinia</i> <i>purpurea</i>
2 <i>Vyálakulakula or vela-</i> <i>golakula</i> (ವ್ಯಾಲಕೂಲ ಕುಲ ಅಥವ ವಲ ಗೊಳಕುಲ)	Jaimini (ಜೈಮಿನಿ)	(ನೆಲ್ಲಿಕಾಯಿ) Fruit of the tree <i>Emblie myrabo-</i> <i>lan</i>
3 <i>Budhanakula or Bud-</i> <i>dhikula</i> (ಬುದ್ಧನ ಕುಲ ಅಥವ ಬುದ್ಧಿಕುಲ)	Bhārgava (ಭಾರ್ಗವ)	Lime fruit. (ನಿಂಬೇಕಾಯಿ)
4 <i>Koratakula or Kurata-</i> <i>kula</i> (ಕೊರಟಕುಲ ಅಥವ ಕುರಟಕುಲ)	Matanga (ಮತಂಗ)	A pumpkin. (ಕುಂಬಳಕಾಯಿ)
5 <i>Peddhisista</i> (ಪೆದ್ದಿಶಿಷ್ಟ)	Preethamanaska (ಪ್ರೀತಮನಸ್ಕ)	Green pulse (ಹೆಸರು)
6 <i>Pérusista</i> (ಪೇರುಶಿಷ್ಟ)	Bruhadasva (ಬ್ರಹದಾಸ್ವ)	Curds of the sheep (ಕುರಿಮೊಸರು)
7 <i>Inkóla</i> (ಇನಕೋಲ)	Soundarya (ಸೌಂದರ್ಯ)	The red lotus (ಕೆಂದಾವರೆ)
8 <i>Súrusista</i> (ಸೂರುಶಿಷ್ಟ)	Sanatkumára (ಸನತ್ಕುಮಾರ)	The gourd <i>Momordica</i> <i>monadelpha</i> <i>Roab</i> (ತೊಂಡೆಹಂಣು)
9 <i>Karakapála</i> (ಕರಕಪಾಲ)	Kousika (ಕೌಶಿಕ)	A tall shrub, the gigantic swallow- wort or manure- leaf. <i>Calotropis</i> <i>gigantea</i> R. Br. (ಎಕ್ಕದಗಿಡ)

Gótra.	Rishi.	Article tabooed.
10 <i>Sántála</i> (ಸಾಂತಾಲ)	Válmiki (ವಾಲ್ಮೀಕಿ)	A prickly tree with an eatable pod, <i>Prosopis spicigera</i> (ಬನ್ನಿಗಡ)
11 <i>Tuppála</i> (ತುಪ್ಪಾಲ)	Thumbara (ತುಂಬರ)	The long pepper (ಹಿವ್ವಲಿ)
12 <i>Pippalakula or Puppála- kula</i> (ಬಿಪ್ಪಲಕುಲ ಅಥವಾ ಪುಪ್ಪಾಲ ಕುಲ)	Pésala (ಪೇಸಲ)	The pungent fruit <i>Photos officinalis</i> (ಗಜಹಿವ್ವಲಿ)
13 <i>Vasantakula</i> (ವಸಂತಕುಲ)	Varuṇa (ವರುಣ)	The brinjal (ಬದನೇಕಾಯಿ)
14 <i>Puneeta or Putcha</i> (ಪುನೀತ ಅಥವಾ ಪುಚ್ಚ)	Sukānchana (ಸುಕಾಂಚನ)	A bitter gourd (ಪುಚ್ಚ ಕಾಯಿ)
15 <i>M sántakula</i> (ಮಸಾಂತಕುಲ)	Kapilāchārya (ಕಪಿಲಾಚಾರ್ಯ)	Black gram (ಉದ್ದಿ)
16 <i>Vikramas'ista</i> (ವಿಕ್ರಮ ಶಿಷ್ಯ)	Visvāmitra (ವಿಶ್ವಾಮಿತ್ರ)	Red earth or ochre (ಕಾವಿಕಲ್ಲು)
17 <i>Ayanakula</i> (ಆಯನಕುಲ)	Pingala (ಪಿಂಗಲ)	<i>Linum Usitatis- simum</i> (ಅಗಸಿಯಲೆ)
18 <i>Mandikula</i> (ಮಂಡಿಕುಲ)	Kapila (ಕಪಿಲ)	Mango (ಮಾವಿನಕಾಯಿ)
19 <i>Balisista</i> (ಬಲಿಶಿಷ್ಯ)	Bhāradvāja (ಭಾರದ್ವಾಜ)	A kind of fruit (ಬಲಸುಕಾಯಿ)
20 <i>Padmasista</i> (ಪದ್ಮಶಿಷ್ಯ)	Munirāju (ಮುನಿರಾಜ)	Lotus stock (ಕಮಲನಾಳ)
21 <i>Anantakula</i> (ಅನಂತಕುಲ)	Rushyasringa (ರುಷ್ಯಶೃಂಗ)	A kind of pulse (ಅಲಸಂದಿ)
22 <i>Vinna or vennakula</i> (ವಿನ್ನ ಅಥವಾ ವೆನ್ನಕುಲ)	Mandapála (ಮಂದಪಾಲ)	Bamboo seed (ಬಿದುರಕ್ಕಿ)
23 <i>Komarasista or kumāra sista</i> (ಕೊಮರಶಿಷ್ಯ ಅಥವಾ ಕುಮಾರ ಶಿಷ್ಯ)	Ugrasēna (ಉಗ್ರಸೇನ)	A species of <i>Barleria</i> (ಗೋರಂಟಿಯಲೆ)



Gótra.	Rishi.	Article tabooed.
24 <i>Morukula</i> (ಮೊರುಕುಲ)	Márkandéya (ಮಾರ್ಕಂಡೇಯ)	Indian fig (ಅತ್ತಿ)
25 <i>Mounji or Munjikula</i> (ಮೌಂಜಿ ಅಥವಾ ಮುಂಜಿಕುಲ)	Munjivra- tudu (ಮುಂಜಿವ್ರತುಡು,	Pepper (ಮೆಣಸು)
26 <i>Abhimanchakula</i> (ಅಭಿಮಂಚಕುಲ)	Yájnavaalkya (ಯಾಜ್ಞವಲ್ಕ್ಯ)	Myrabolan (ನೆಲ್ಲಿಕಾಯಿ)
27 <i>Ohannasista</i> (ಚನ್ನಶಿಷ್ಯ)	Soundilya (ಕೌಂಡಿಲ್ಯ)	Panicum grain (ಸಾವೆ)
28 <i>Sri'sista or Sirisista</i> (ಶ್ರೀಶಿಷ್ಯ ಅಥವಾ ಶಿರಿಶಿಷ್ಯ)	Sridhara (ಶ್ರೀಧರ)	Bengal gram (ಚರಕನಗಳು)
29 <i>Prahina or Pydikula</i> (ಪ್ರಹಿಣ ಅಥವಾ ಪೈಡಿಕುಲ)	Angírasa (ಅಂಗೀರಸ)	<i>Momordica char- antia</i> (ಹಾಗಲಕಾಯಿ)
30 <i>Ohanasrilakula</i> (ಫನಶ್ರೀಲಕುಲ)	Koundinya (ಕೌಂಡಿನ್ಯ)	Kitchen herb <i>Closia albid</i> (ಅಶ್ವಿನೋವೈ)
31 <i>Bhramada or Bhramara</i> (ಭ್ರಮದ ಅಥವಾ ಭ್ರಮರ)	Gárgya (ಗಾರ್ಗ್ಯ)	A kind of fruit (ಹಾಲುಕಾಯಿ)
32 <i>Prithvisista</i> (ಪೃಥ್ವಿಶಿಷ್ಯ)	Bhrigu (ಭೃಗು)	Jambolina (ನೇರಳೆ)
33 <i>Renta</i> (ರಂಟ)	Samvarta (ಸಂವರ್ತ)	The fragrant grass <i>Oyperus</i> <i>rotundus</i> (ಕುರುಬಿಂದಮು)
34 <i>Useera</i> (ಉಸೀರ)	Harivaktra (ಹರಿವಕ್ತ್ರ)	<i>Embllica officina- lis</i> (ಉಸಿರಿಕ ಅಥವಾ ಅಮಲ ಕ)
35 <i>Sus'alakula' or Susalla- kula</i> (ಕುಸಾಲಕುಲ ಅಥವಾ ಸುಸಾಳ್ವ ಕುಲ)	Angírasa (ಅಂಗೀರಸ)	

Gótra.	Rishi.	Article tabooed.
36 <i>Chidúpa or Chulurúpa</i> (ಚಿದೂಪ ಅಥವಾ ಚಿದುರೂಪ)	Pavitrapáni (ಪವಿತ್ರಪಾನಿ)	Chrysanthemum (ಶ್ಯವಂತಿ)
37 <i>Dheekshama</i> (ಧೀಕ್ಷಮ)	Akshaya (ಅಕ್ಷಯ)	Grapes (ದ್ರಾಕ್ಷಿಪಂಜು)
38 <i>Budharuksa or Budhar</i> (ಬುಧರುಕ್ಷ ಅಥವಾ ಬುಧರು)	Bódháyana (ಬೋಧಾಯನ)	A species of jessa- mine (ಶಿವಮಲ್ಲೆ)
39 <i>Yánasaòhíkula or yana- sakula</i> (ಯಾನಸಾಹಿಕುಲ ಅಥವಾ ಯನಸ ಕುಲ)	Pisábarbara (ಪಿಶಾಬರ್ಬರ)	Wheat (ಗೊಧಿ)
40 <i>Kámasista</i> (ಕಾಮಶಿಷ್ಟ)	Kámyaka (ಕಾಮ್ಯಕ)	Camphor-áradish and other esculent roots (ಕರ್ಪೂರ-ಕಂದಮೂಲ)
41 <i>Kadamba</i> (ಕದಂಬ)	Koutsuka (ಕಾತ್ಸುಕ)	Black lotus (ನಲ್ಲಕಲವಲು - ಕನ್ನೆ ದಿಲೆ)
42 <i>Anumarshanakula</i> (ಅನುಮರ್ಷಣಕುಲ)	Sthúlāsiraska (ಸ್ಥೂಲಶಿರಸ್ಕ)	Alum (ಸ್ಫಟಿಕ)
43 <i>Yelamancha</i> (ಯಲಮಂಚ)	Krishna Dvai- payana (ಕ್ರೃಷ್ಣದ್ವೈಪಾ ಯನ)	Cardamom (ಯಾಲಕ್ಕಿ)
44 <i>Trimúlakula</i> (ತ್ರಿಮೂಲಕುಲ)	Mádhavudu (ಮಾಧವುಡು)	Camphor (ಕರ್ಪೂರ)
45 <i>Krama sista</i> (ಕ್ರಮಶಿಷ್ಟ)	S'arabhanga (ಶರಭಂಗ)	A radish and other esculent roots (ಕಂದಮೂಲ)
46 <i>Proudhayáji</i> (ಪ್ರಾಧಯಾಜಿ)	Mousala (ಮೌಸಲ)	Snake-gourd (ಪಡುವಲಕಾಯಿ)
47 <i>Samasista</i> (ಸಮಶಿಷ್ಟ)	Sanandana (ಸನಂದನ)	Bamboo seed (ಬಿದುರಕ್ಕಿ)
48 <i>Pálakulu</i> (ಪಾಲಕುಲ)	Pávana (ಪಾವನ)	Bael tree (ಬಿಲ್ವವೃಕ್ಷ)

Gótra.	Rishi.	Article tabooed.
49 <i>Ishupa or Isupakula</i> (ಇಷುಪ ಅಥವಾ ಇಸುಪಕುಲ)	Vishṇuvardha-Asafoetida na	(ಹಿಂಸು)
50 <i>Chakramūla</i> (ಚಕ್ರಮೂಲ)	(ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಧನ) Chakrapāṇi	Kitchen herb
51 <i>Vasti kula</i> (ವಸ್ತಿ ಕುಲ)	(ಚಕ್ರಪಾಣಿ) Vasista	(ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿನೋಪ್ಪು) Cuscuta grass
52 <i>Krānukula</i> (ಕ್ರಾನುಕುಲ)	(ವಸಿಷ್ಠ) Pundarika	(ಲಾವಂಜ) Red radish
53 <i>Dhanakula</i> (ಧನಕುಲ)	(ಪುಂಡರೀಕ) Krishna	(ಕೆಂಬುಮುಲ್ಲಂಗಿ) <i>Achyranthes as-</i>
54 <i>Trivikramasista</i> (ತ್ರಿವಿಕ್ರಮಶಿಷ್ಯ)	(ಕೃಷ್ಣ) Trijata	<i>pera</i> (ಉತ್ತರೇಣಿ) Pumpkin
55 <i>Vivarisista</i> (ವಿವರಿಸಿಷ್ಯ)	(ತ್ರಿಜಟ) Vishvakséna	(ಕುಂಬಳಕಾಯಿ) Jessamine
56 <i>Tulasikula</i> (ತುಲಸಿಕುಲ)	(ವಿಷ್ವಕ್ಸೇನ) Pátikarsha	(ಜಾಜೇಡುಪ್ಪು) Holy Basil
57 <i>Bhmasista</i> (ಭೀಮಶಿಷ್ಯ)	(ಪಾತಿಕರ್ಷ) Jábáli	(ತುಲಸಿ) White silk
58 <i>Ikshvákū</i> (ಇಕ್ಷ್ವಾಕು)	(ಜಾಬಾಲಿ) Mahátéjaska	(ಬಿಳಿರೇಷ್ಮೆ) China rose
59 <i>Hastikula</i> (ಹಸ್ತಿ ಕುಲ)	(ಮಹಾತೇಜಸ್ಕ) Soumya	(ದಾಸವಾಣದಹುವು) A kind of vege-
60 <i>Ganamukha</i> (ಗಣಮುಖ)	(ಸೌಮ್ಯ) Kasyapa	table (ಉಪೇತೆ) Fragrant olean-
61 <i>Dhana gunda</i> (ಧನಗುಂಡ)	(ಕಾಶ್ಯಪ) Samvartaka	der (ಕಣಗಿಲೆ) Pomegranate
62 <i>Vanasista</i> (ವನಶಿಷ್ಯ)	(ಸಂವರ್ತಕ) Samika	(ದಾಳಿಂಬೆ) Bitter vegetables
63 <i>Venkóla</i> (ವೆಂಕೋಲ)	(ಕಮಿಕ) Védanidhi	(ಕಹುವುಟ್ಟು) Brinjals
	(ವೇದನಿಧಿ)	(ಬದನೆಕಾಯಿ)

Gótra.	Rishi.	Article tabooed.
64 <i>Andira</i> (ಅಂದಿರ)	Satyavrata (ಸತ್ಯವ್ರತ)	Jambolina (ಜೇರಳಹಣ್ಣು)
65 <i>Thankdra</i> (ತಂಕಾರ)	Maháséna (ಮಹಾಸೇನ)	(ಅಜ್ಜುತ)
66 <i>Mushtita</i> (ಮುಷ್ಟಿತ)	Muchikunda (ಮುಚಿಕುಂದ)	A kind of root (ಕುರುದೇಬೇರು)
67 <i>Chandaku</i> (ಚಂದಕ)	Dhoumya (ಧೌಮ್ಯ)	Sugar-cane (ಬಿಳಿಕಬ್ಬು)
68 <i>Trikushika</i> (ತ್ರಿಕುಷಿಕ)	Turyavrata (ತುರ್ಯವ್ರತ)	
69 <i>Mangama</i> (ಮಂಗಮ)	Hayagríva (ಹಯಗ್ರೀವ)	<i>Phaseolus radia-</i> <i>tus</i> (ಅಸರೆ)
70 <i>Vridhadi</i> (ವೃದ್ಧಿ)	Brihaspati (ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಪತಿ)	(ಗಜಫಲ)
71 <i>Kamala</i> (ಕಮಲ)	Suka (ಸುಕ)	White lotus (ಬಿಳಿದಾವರೆ)
72 <i>Kanya</i> (ಕನ್ಯ)	Prémada (ಪ್ರೇಮದ)	Jambolina (ಜೇರಳಹಣ್ಣು)
73 <i>Samana</i> (ಸಮನ)	Káncana (ಕಾಂಚನ)	Jessamine (ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆಹೂವು)
74 <i>Souna kula</i> (ಕೌನಕುಲ)	Sounaka (ಕೌನಕ)	Panicum grain (ಕಾಪು)
75 <i>A'mala</i> (ಅಮಲ)	A'svaláyana (ಅಶ್ವಲಾಯನ)	Indian fig (ಅತ್ತಿಹಣ್ಣು)
76 <i>Gundakula</i> (ಗುಂಡಕುಲ)	Sárngarava (ಸಾರ್ಗರವ)	Lime fruit (ನಿಂಬೆಹಣ್ಣು)
77 <i>Srípumsika</i> (ಶ್ರೀಪುಂಸಿಕ)	Pulastya (ಪುಲಸ್ತ್ಯ)	(ಪಾಲಪಂಡು)
78 <i>Udráhakula or Pendli-</i> <i>kula</i> (ಉದ್ರಾಹಕುಲ ಅಥವಾ ಪೆಂದ್ಲಿಕುಲ)	Prabhátudu (ಪ್ರಭಾತುಡು)	A kind of herb (ಬೊದ್ದಿನೋವು)
<i>Ravisista</i> (ರವಿಸಿಷ್ಟ)		

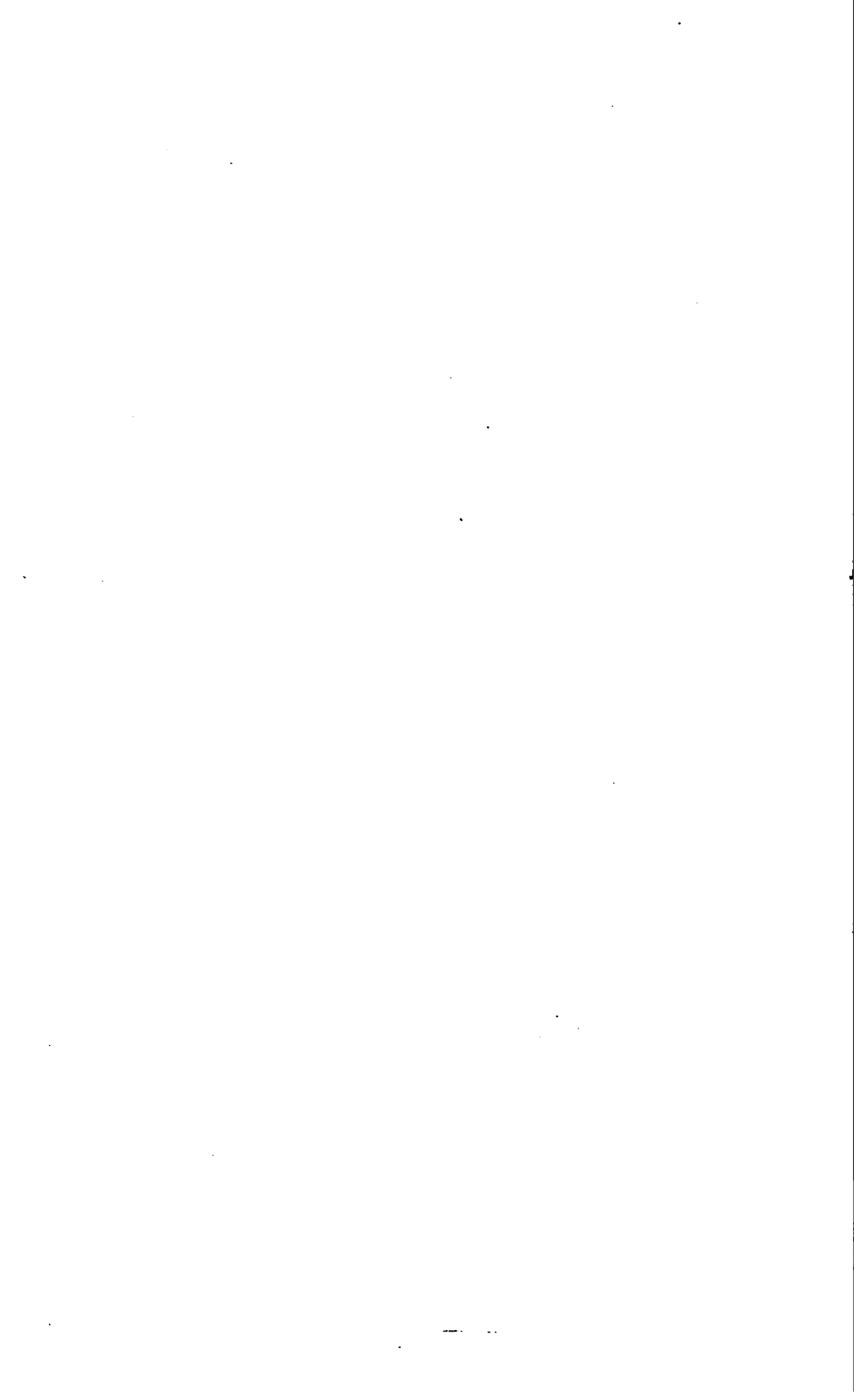
Gótra.	Rishi.	Article tabooed.
79 <i>Manyakula</i> (ಮನ್ಯಕುಲ) <i>Mánabha</i> (ಮಾನಭ)	Mandavya (ಮಾಂಡವ್ಯ)	A species of cur- cuma (ಮರದರಕಿನ)
80 <i>Anupu</i> (ಅನುಪ) <i>Anupāl</i> (ಅನುಪಾಲ)	Agastya (ಅಗಸ್ತ್ಯ)	<i>Phaseolus Radi- atus</i> (ಅವರೆ)
81 <i>Inchupa</i> (ಇಂಚುಪ) <i>Ghonta</i> (ಘಂಟ)	Gópa (ಗೋಪ)	White lotus (ಬಿಳಿದಾವರೆ)
82 <i>Turydta or Tóta</i> (ತುರ್ಯಟ ಅಥವ ತೋಟ) <i>Tulasista</i> (ತುಲಸಿಷ್ಟ)	Pùtimásha (ಪುತಿಮಾಷ)	Red water cresses (ಕೆಂಪುತೋಟದಸೊಪ್ಪ)
83 <i>Srìlakula or Chilatula Srìvatsa</i> (ಶ್ರೀಲಕುಲ ಅಥವ ಚಿಲತುಲ) (ಶ್ರೀವತ್ಸ) <i>Srìrangakula</i> (ಶ್ರೀರಂಗಕುಲ)		A small kind of castor oil seed (ಚಿಟ್ಟಮಿದಾಲು)
84 <i>Ghantásthūla or Ghanta-Pallava</i> <i>sula</i> ಪಲ್ಲವ) (ಘಂಟಾಸ್ಥೂಲ ಅಥವ ಘಂಟನುಲ) <i>Ganapa</i> (ಗಣಪ)		Plantain fruits (ಬಾಳೆಹಂಣು)
85 <i>Srēshtakundala or</i> <i>Jégolā</i> (ಶ್ರೇಷ್ಠ ಕುಂದಲ ಅಥವ ಜೇಗೊಳ್ಳ) <i>Chara</i> (ಚರ)	Kandarpa (ಕಂದರ್ಪ)	Sandal (ಶ್ರೀಗಂಧ)
86 <i>Palaka</i> (ಪಲಕ) <i>Patana</i> (ಪಟನ)	Dálbhya (ದಾಲ್ಫಲಿ)	(ಹಾಲುಹಂಣು)

Gótra.	Rishi.	Article tabooed.
87 <i>Désista or Désétla</i> (ದೇಶಿಷ್ಟ ಅಥವ ದೇಶಿಟ್ಟ) <i>Hayá-sista</i> (ಹಯಾಶಿಷ್ಟ)	Dévala (ದೇವಲ)	<i>Pinus decdara</i>
88 <i>Mathana or Mithuna</i> (ಮಥನ ಅಥವ ಮಿಥುನ) <i>Madhya or Maddhi</i> (ಮಧ್ಯ ಅಥವ ಮದ್ಧಿ)	Maitrèya (ಮೈತ್ರೇಯ)	The fragrant screw-pine or Pandanus flower (ಕಾಳಿಕುವೈ)
89 <i>Sanakula</i> (ಸನಕುಲ) <i>Sánakula</i> (ಸಾನಕುಲ)	Sanaka (ಸನಕ)	Nutneg (ಜಾಜಿಕಾಯಿ)
90 <i>Utakula</i> (ಉತಕುಲ) <i>Utasista</i> (ಉತಶಿಷ್ಟ)	Nárada (ನಾರದ)	<i>Achyranthes as pera</i> (ಉತ್ತರೇಣಿ)
91 <i>Konti or Kótakula</i> (ಕಾಟ ಅಥವ ಕೋಟಕುಲ) <i>Karṇāṭa of Karṇakula</i> (ಕರ್ಣಾಟ ಅಥವ ಕರ್ಣಕುಲ)	Kaṇva (ಕಣ್ವ)	Pigeon pea (ಬಿಳಿಕೋಗರಿ)
92 <i>Uhanakula</i> (ಊನ್ಹಕುಲ) <i>Jánukula</i> (ಜಾನುಕುಲ)	Janhu (ಜನ್ಹು)	Guava (ಕೀಬಿಹಂಬು)
93 <i>Dantakula</i> (ದಂತಕುಲ) <i>Dyanta or Dontakula</i> (ದ್ಯಂತ ಅಥವ ದೊಂತಕುಲ)	Sutíkshaṇa (ಸುತಿಕ್ಷಣ)	<i>Phaseolus radi atus</i> (ಅವರೆ)
94 <i>Munikula</i> (ಮುನಿಕುಲ) <i>Málakula</i> (ಮಾಲಕುಲ) <i>Nábhilana or Nábhilla- kula</i> (ನಾಭೀಲನ ಅಥವ ನಾಭಿಲ್ಲಕುಲ)	Moudgalya (ಮೌದ್ಗಲ್ಯ)	Horse radish (ನುಗ್ಗಿಕಾಯಿ)

Gótra.	Rishi.	Article tabooed
95 <i>Harisitla</i> or <i>Arisitla</i> (ಹರಿಸಿಟ್ಟ ಅಥವಾ ಅರಿಸಿಟ್ಟ) <i>Yarasitla</i> or <i>Yalisitla</i> (ಯರಸಿಟ್ಟ ಅಥವಾ ಎಲಿಸಿಟ್ಟ) <i>Yarasakula</i> (ಯರಸಕುಲ)	Atréya (ಆತ್ರ್ಯಯ)	<i>Pongamio glabra</i> . (ಹೂಣಿ)
96 <i>Chandrakula</i> (ಚಂದ್ರಕುಲ) <i>Ohandasista</i> (ಚಂದಸಿಷ್ಟ) <i>Ohandramûla</i> (ಚಂದ್ರಮೂಲ)	Jatukarva (ಜತುಕರ್ವಾ)	Sandalwood (ಚಂದನ)
97 <i>Prólékha</i> or <i>Prólikula</i> (ಪ್ರೋಲೇಖ ಅಥವಾ ಪ್ರೋಲಿಕುಲ) <i>Pungamánukula</i> (ಪುಂಗಮಾನುಕುಲ) <i>Prólisisita</i> (ಪ್ರೋಲಿಸಿಷ್ಟ)	Poundika (ಪಾಂಡಿಕ)	The marking nut (ಗೇರು)
98 <i>Chintyakula</i> (ಚಿಂತ್ಯಕುಲ) <i>Chintáka</i> (ಚಿಂತಾಕ) <i>Chintamasistla</i> (ಚಿಂತಮಸಿಷ್ಟ)	Satyaka (ಸತ್ಯಕ)	Tamarind (ಹುಣಿಸೆ)
99 <i>Vrangakula</i> (ವ್ರಾಂಗಕುಲ) <i>Vrakasista</i> (ವ್ರಕಸಿಷ್ಟ) <i>Vrakakûla</i> (ವ್ರಕಕುಲ)	Vâyavya (ವಾಯವ್ಯ)	Mustard (ಸಾಸುವೆ)
100 <i>Upamanyukula</i> (ಉಪಮನ್ಯುಕುಲ) <i>Upála</i> (ಉಪಾಲ)	Vámadéva (ವಾಮದೇವ)	The long pepper <i>piper longum</i> (ಹವ್ವಲಿ)

Gótra.	Rishi.	Article tabooed
<i>Upanakula</i> (ಉಪನಕುಲ)		
101 <i>Prouḍhasiḷa or</i> <i>Pagṇasiḷakula</i> (ಪ್ರೌಢಸೀಲ ಅಥವ ಪಗಡಸೀಲಕುಲ)	<i>Parásara</i> (ಪರಾಶರ)	<i>Date</i> (ಖರ್ಜೂರ)
<i>Prágbala Pámbāḷa</i> (ಪ್ರಾಗ್ಬಾಲ ಅಥವ ಪಾಂಬಾಳ)		
<i>Práṇasiḷa or Prāṇasula</i> (ಪ್ರಾಣಸೀಲ ಅಥವ ಪ್ರಾಣಸುಲ)		
<i>Kámadhénu or Kamaṭha-</i> <i>kula</i> (ಕಾಮಧೇನು ಅಥವ ಕಮಠಕುಲ)		
<i>Punagòsiḷa or Punaga-</i> <i>siḷakula</i> (ಪುನಗೋಸೀಲ ಅಥವ ಪುನಗಸೀಲ ಕುಲ)		
<i>Gòsiḷa</i> (ಗೋಸೀಲ)	<i>Poulastya</i> (ಪಾಲಸ್ತ್ಯ)	<i>Civet</i> (ಫುನುಗು)
<i>Uttamagòsiḷa</i> (ಉತ್ತಮಗೋಸೀಲ)		
<i>Pallavagòsiḷa</i> (ಪಲ್ಲವಗೋಸೀಲ)		
<i>Paṇugòsiḷa</i> (ಪಾಣುಗೋಸೀಲ)		
<i>Satyagòsiḷa</i> (ಸತ್ಯಗೋಸೀಲ)		
<i>Bhímagòsiḷa</i> (ಭೀಮಗೋಸೀಲ)		
<i>Srīgòsiḷa</i> (ಶ್ರೀಗೋಸೀಲ)		
<i>Nandigòsiḷa</i> (ನಂದಿಗೋಸೀಲ)		





(Preliminary Issue.)

**The**  
**Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

---

**VII.**  
**KORACHA CASTE.**

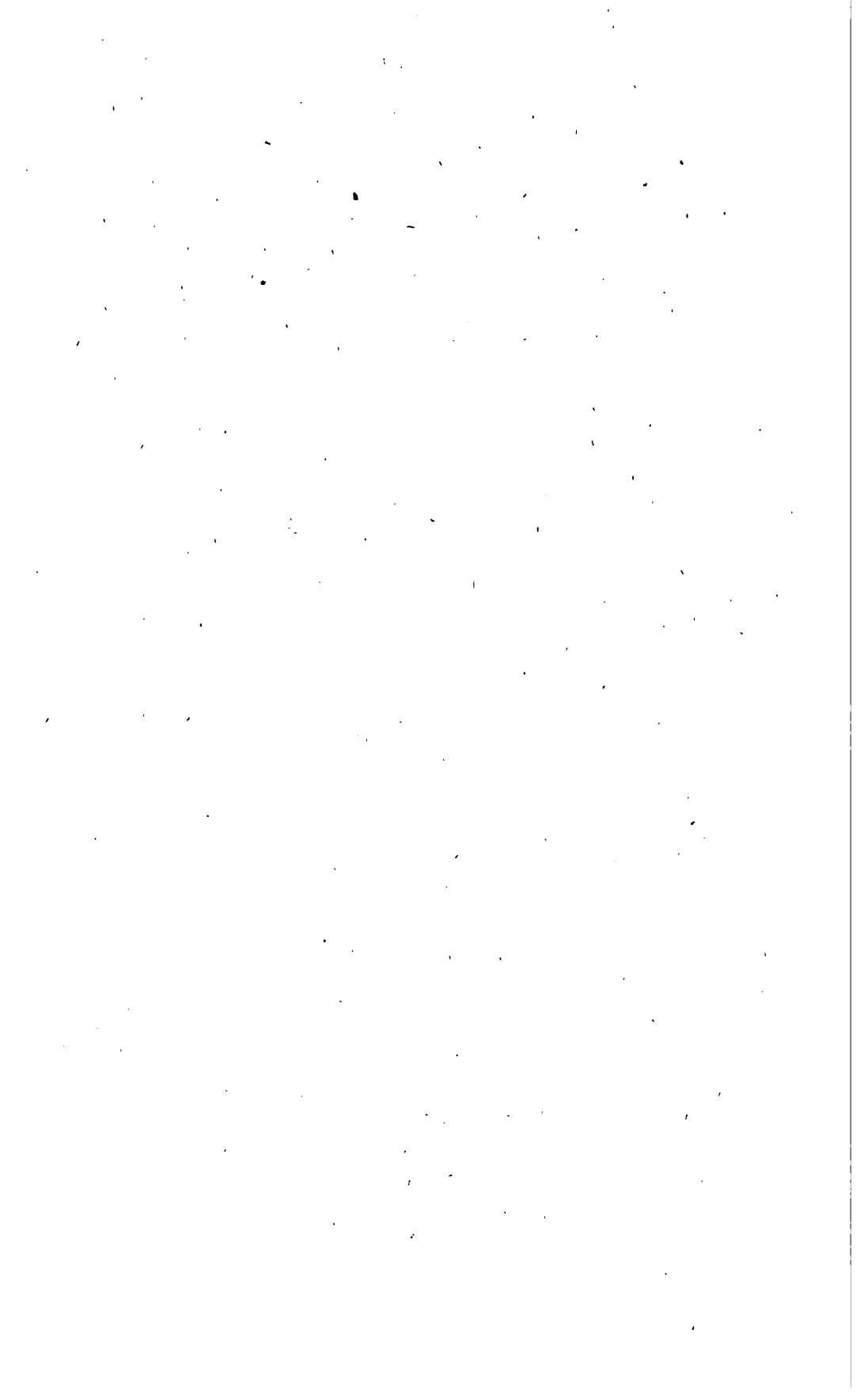
BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

---

BANGALORE;  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS.  
1906.

*Price 4 Annas.*



(Preliminary Issue.)

**The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

---

**VII.**

**KORACHA CASTE.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

---

**BANGALORE:  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS.  
1906.**

*Price 4 Annas.*



## CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
The caste           ...           ...           ..	1
Name               ...           ...           ..	1
Origin             ...           ...           ..	2
Language          ...           ...           ...	3
Divisions          ...           ...           ...	3—5
Birth ceremonies ...           ...           ...	5
<i>Couvade</i> ...           ...           ...	6
Marriage          ...           ...           ...	6—11
Puberty           ...           ...           ..	12
Widow marriage   ...           ...           ...	12
Divorce           ...           ...           ...	13
Death ceremonies ...           ...           ...	14
Social status      ...           ...           ...	15
Tribal organization	16
Inheritance       ...           ...           ...	17
Occupation        ...           ...           ...	17—19
Religion           ...           ...           ...	19
Miscellaneous     ...           ...           ...	20
Appendix (family names) ...           ...	21



## KORACHAS OR KORAMAS.

In the last two Census Reports of the State, it has been in a way assumed that Korachas and Koramas are two different castes; but there is strong reason to hold that the names are mere local variations for one and the same caste. The exogamous divisions among them and family names wherever they are found, and the customs such as a maternal uncle's right to the first two daughters of his sister at reduced *tera* and the payment of the *tera* amount in easy instalments spread over a number of years are all common to both the branches, who moreover speak the same language. The number of this caste, according to the last Census, was 24,228, the number of males and females being nearly equal. They are found scattered all over the State, and as a large section of them are of wandering habits, it is not easy to determine where they are chiefly located. The caste.

Their usual names are *Korama* (ಕೊರಮೆ), *Korava* (ಕೊರವೆ) Name. or *Koracha* (ಕೊರಚೆ), and they sometimes call themselves *Koravanji makkalu* (ಕೊರವಂಜಿ ಮಕ್ಕಳು). They have acquired nicknames of *Kalla Koracha* (ಕಳ್ಳಕೊರಚರು) or *Kalla Korama* (ಕಳ್ಳಕೊರಮರು) by reason of their reputed thieving propensity.

Abbe Dubois calls them *Kalla Banjaru* (ಕಳ್ಳಬಂಜರು), but this is not current as a name of the caste now, and was probably only a description of their predominant profession as a thieving fraternity, which he mistook to be the name of the caste.

Those that are popularly known as Korachas, say that Koramas are a different class, addicted to thieving, while those passing for Koramas resent being called by the other name which, they say, applies to a thieving class. The origin of the two words seems to be identical and there is little to choose between them as to the evil repute that they suggest.



In Telugu, they are known as *Erukulas* (ఎరుకూలవారు) a name which to their thinking carries no stigma, and which each class claims as appropriate to its own division.

They have as their title or name-ending, *Setti* (సెట్టి), besides the usual ones of *Appa* (అప్ప) and *Ayya* (అయ్య); and they maintain that they belong to the 18 *Phanas* or right hand section of castes.

*Korama* and *Koracha* both seem to be derived from the verb *kuru* (కూలు) meaning to divine or prognosticate, and are applied to the caste on account of their profession of fortune-telling, which their women practise. Some derive these terms from a word which means a hillman (cf. Tamil *Kuranj* a hill country), showing that these people are a wild tribe living in jungles. But the former appears to be the more probable derivation and is in meaning equivalent to the Telugu name of the caste, namely, *Erukula* which comes from the root *Erugu* (ఎరుగు), to know or divine.

*Koravanji makkalu* (కొరవంజి మక్కలు) means children of a *Koravanji*, that is, a female fortune-teller.

Many *Koramas* who are educated and live in towns repudiate the name, and call themselves *Balajas* or *Koravanjis*. The division of *Koramas* known as *Souai* (సొయి) *Koramas* who are pipers, in some places such as *Chikmagalur*, deny their identity with the main caste. But an enquiry into their habits and customs proves their unmistakable identity.

Origin.

It has not been possible to obtain information of any value concerning the origin of the caste. It is likely that they are one of the aboriginal tribes, or that they have a large proportion of blood of such tribes in their veins. Of course, in their case also, mythological or fanciful legends are not wanting to explain their origin. There is a story current that *Párvati*, the consort of *Siva*, once disguised herself as a soothsayer and that *Koramas* are her descendants. Another story connected with their occupation is that a *Méda* was asked to prepare a cradle for *Párvati*'s child out of a serpent with its stomach filled with precious stones, but he was afraid of touching it on account of the rattling noise of the stones. Then a *Koracha* was asked, to do the job but he was given a knotted serpent and as the precious stones were held tightly packed in their place by the knots, he heard no rattling, and boldly took it and

split it like a bamboo and made the cradle. Both castes were thenceforth to live on bamboo wicker work; but the Méda still goes about in a gingerly manner and splits his bamboos from the bottom, whereas the Koracha proceeds to cut them from the top. As a reward for the cradle made by him, Párvati presented the Koracha with a divining rod of the bamboo and a winnow which she had been using herself for fortune-telling, and that is how this profession has come down to them.

Mythology apart, they are a wandering tribe found all over the State. That they are decidedly of Tamil origin is borne out by the language they speak, which is common to them irrespective of the place they live in, whether as Erukulas in the Telugu country, as Koravas in the Tamil tracts, as Koramas or Korachas in the Kannada parts or as Koravis or Kaikaris in the Mahratta country.

Abbe Dubois is of opinion that their customs and manners have much in common with those of wandering tribes known in England and France as Gypsies or Bohemians, and that they might have come into this country from Egypt. But the conclusion is far-fetched and Koramas of this State do not show the least traces of such a distant origin.

They speak a language which appears to be a dialect of Tamil or a medley of Tamil, Telugu and Kannada, the first element preponderating. It is not easily intelligible to common people, and like all criminal tribes they have a slang of their own which the uninitiated cannot understand. They are said to have, says Mr. Rice, a peculiar gypsy language of their own with a system of signals which enables them to converse with the initiated, unobserved. \*

Language.

There are four main divisions which, though originally based on occupations, have become endogamous at present. They are úru or Dabbe Korachas (ಉರು ಕೊರಚರು, ದಬ್ಬೆ ಕೊರಚರು), Uppu or Ghattada Korachas (ಉಪ್ಪು ಕೊರಚರು, ಘಟ್ಟದ ಕೊರಚರು), also known as Ettina Korachas (ಎತ್ತಿನ ಕೊರಚರು), Kunchige Korachas (ಕುಂಚಿಗೆ ಕೊರಚರು) and Sonai Korachas (ಸೊಣಾಯ್ ಕೊರಚರು). There said to be also Pátrada Korachas (ಪಾತ್ರದ ಕೊರಚರು) and Súle Korachas (ಸುಲೇ ಕೊರಚರು).

Endogamous divisions.

Úru Korachas are so called because they have settled down within towns and villages. They are agriculturists

\* Mysore Gazetteer. I., 233.

but also make baskets, and their women practise tattooing and fortune-telling. They are styled Dabbe Korachas as they prepare bamboo baskets and other wicker work. Uppu Korachas trade in salt and are known also as Ghattada Korachas, because before the introduction of railways, they were the chief carriers of trade between the sea-coasts and the interior of the country above the ghats. Ettina Korachas use bullocks more than donkeys as beasts of burden, and they have incurred notoriety as cattle-lifters. Kunchige Korachas are those who manufacture *Kunchige* or the brush used by weavers for starching their yarn. Sonai\* Korachas get their name from a wind instrument (a pipe called *sonni* in their dialect) on which they play.

Except Uru and Sonai Korachas who are almost settled and live within villages, the rest are more or less reputed to be thieves and are known by the nickname of *Kajla* or thieving Korachas.

**Exogamous divisions.**

They have four exogamous divisions:—Sátpádi (ಸಾತ್ಪಾಡಿ), Kávaḍi (ಕಾವಡಿ), Ménpádi (ಮೇನಪಾಡಿ), Mendragutti (ಮೆಂದ್ರಗುತ್ತಿ). They say that the people of Sátpádi division regard the Kakke plant (ಕಕ್ಕೆ, in Telugu, రాలి) as sacred and those of the Kávaḍi, the Margosa tree, and that they set up stones to represent their family gods underneath these trees, to worship them. The meanings of these terms are obscure and is said to be connected with the various services performed to the god (Venkataramanaswami) at the shrine of Tirupati. It is stated that *Sátpádi* are so called because they adorn their god with flowers and jewels, this process being in Tamil styled *Sátpádi* which is equivalent to *Samarpané* in Sanskrit. *Kávaḍi* means a carrying pole and the people of this division are said to have carried their offerings to their god, suspended to a pole at both ends. *Ménpádi* division sing praises of god before the idol; and *Mendragutti* division offer shoes to the idol.

Sátpádi and Kávaḍi are said to be the only two proper divisions, the other two Mendragutti and Ménpádi being the late immigrants from Bandar country (Krishna District), belonging to these main divisions. They received separate names, and even now, in some places, it appears that

\* They may be easily identified as the snake-charmers who, come begging playing on their pipes, with cobras which they exhibit before houses.

intermarriages between Sātpādi and Menḍragutti or Kāvādi Ménpādi are not allowed; but this distinction is not long kept up.

Korachas have also what are known as family or house names, which however have no significance in marital relations. Some of these names are appended. They have no hypergamous divisions.

The ordinary Korachas do not observe any elaborate birth ceremonies. Soon after the child is born, it is washed in lukewarm water, and sometimes the mother is also given a bath and made to lie flat, the waist being tightly bandaged. She is given the usual heating medicines to help her recovery. On the 5th or the 7th day, she and the child are bathed. The whole house is cleaned with cow-dung water and some castemen are invited to a dinner. In the evening of that day, the child is put into a cradle and is given a name. Toddy, arrack and even foreign liquors are freely used on this occasion. Birth ceremonies.

Their names are generally taken from those of their gods and goddesses which include many sylvan deities. The following may be taken as typical, both for males and females.\* *Sunka* (ಸುಂಕ), *Māra* (ಮಾರ), *Homnūra* (ಹೊನ್ನೂರ), *Hanuma* (ಹನುಮ), *Malla* (ಮಲ್ಲ), *Yalla* (ಯಲ್ಲ) and *Mācha* (ಮಾಚೆ), nicknames such as, *Jūla* (curly haired), *Sottā* (crooked) are common

When a child is born after the death of one or more children, a peculiar custom is observed in some places. Soon after the purification bath is taken, the mother either really or nominally goes begging to a few houses to perform a vow previously taken to Venkatramaṇa (of Tirupati) or other family deity, while the father follows her

\* In the Dravidian languages, the same name may be used for both sexes, but the sex is always distinguished by the ending, masculine ending in *a* (ಅ) and the feminine in *i* (ಇ). Except in familiar intercourse, an honorific suffix is always, especially in the higher castes, added, which may be either general such as *appa* (ಅಪ್ಪ-father), *ayya* (ಯ್ಯ from Sanskrit *arya*, elder or sir), *anna* (ಅಣ್ಣ, brother), or professional or caste-denoting, such as *sāstri*, *dikshita* for Brahmins, *arasu* or *rāje-arasu* for the Arasu (or kingly castes), *seṭṭi*, *gauda*, *nāyaka* for other castes, and *rāv* indifferently for Brahmins, Mahrattas, Sudras, etc.

For female names, the variety is not so great, the terminations being *amma*, *avva* (ಅಮ್ಮ, ಅಮ್ಮ, mother), *akka* (ಅಕ್ಕ, sister), and *ammaṇ-ṇi* (ಅಮ್ಮಣ್ಣಿ, a diminutive form, to denote dearness, of *amma*), the latter being specially employed by the Arasu community and those who imitate them.

with the child in his arms. Out of the money collected, a silver or a copper necklace is made and put round the child's neck. The nose is bored and a ring inserted in the hole; and the child is given a name to denote that he has been born for the sake of begging or by begging.\*

There is no custom of giving two names to the child, one for ceremonial purposes and the other for everyday use. But it is a notorious fact that the Korachas who engage themselves in the profession of thieving have a number of *aliases*, and they have an understanding among themselves as to which should be employed on each occasion, so that the deception may not be discovered, even if the other members of the gang are separately questioned about the names of their associates.

*Couvade.* ↓

The Korachas seem to have traces of the custom called *Couvade*, according to which, when a wife is delivered of a child, the husband is confined to bed and treated as a delicate patient. The practice seems to be dying out, and exists only in remote parts in the Shimoga District and elsewhere. These people were questioned in Hiriur, Sira, Maddagiri, Kankanhalli, Mulbagal and Goribidnur Taluks but they were generally unwilling to admit its existence without a round-about cross-examination. There is a proverb in Tamil which means that when a Korama woman brought forth a son, the Korama man ate assafetida. † Even where the usage has not disappeared, they now only nominally follow it, giving the husband a little of the medicines prepared for the wife. ‡

Adoption.

When a man has no children he may adopt a boy, preferably the son of a brother or one belonging to the same exogamous division. But a brother cannot be adopted. There is no ceremony observed except that of taking off the old waist thread (ಉದ್ಧಾರ) of the boy and putting on a new one and giving a dinner to the caste people, to announce the fact.

Marriage.

Marriages are generally celebrated after puberty. A woman may, without incurring any social odium, remain

\* Such as *Tirupatigaddu* (ತಿರುಪತಿಗಾಡು) or *Tirupdniki-puttinarddu* (ತಿರುಪಾನಿಕಿಪುಟ್ಟನವಾಡು).

† ಕುರತ್ತಿ ಪುಳ್ಳೆಪೆತ್ತಾಲ್ ಕುರವ್ ಪೆರುಂಗಾಯಂ ತಿಣ್ಣಾರ್.

‡ The late Mr. G. Krishna Rao made some enquiry on this matter while he was Superintendent of Police in Shimoga, and furnished a short account, which has been published by the Superintendent of the Madras Museum, in a Bulletin. (Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 115-116).

unmarried. If she should be discovered to have gone astray, she is made to join the man, in *kudike*, if he is of the same caste. If the paramour is of a different but higher caste, her fault may be condoned by a fine, but if he happens to be of a lower caste, she loses her caste.

Polygamy is allowed and practised to some extent according to the means of the husband, but polyandry is unknown.

In marriages, they have to avoid girls among their agnatic relations and others born in their own group, the affinity to the group being traced through males. Marriage with an elder sister's daughter is allowed, but the daughter of a younger sister cannot be taken to wife, unless by a widower. Maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter may be married; but in the case of the paternal aunt's daughter, if his father or paternal uncle (younger or elder) has already married a daughter of hers, the other cannot be married by him (the nephew). Marriages in the section in which one's own mother or father's mother was born are allowed, but not in the section in which one's own mother's mother was born, as the latter generally happens to be of one's own section. A man may marry two sisters, but not simultaneously. It is said that if a man has married the younger of the two sisters, the elder cannot afterwards be taken to wife, either in regular marriage or in *kudike*, on the ground that the relationship as wife's sister (ॐ १) is looked upon as equivalent to that of a mother thus rendering marriage with her incestuous. Two sisters may be married by two brothers. The only other formula not covered by the rule of exogamy is that the intended couple should not be related, either actually, or by analogy as parent and child or as brother and sister. There is no objection to exchange of daughters between two families in marriage.

It is a binding custom among the Korachas that the first two daughters of a woman must be given, on a reduced *tera*, to her brother to be married either by himself or to his sons. If he has no sons and does not himself stand in need of the girls for marriage, his right to them is exercised by his getting two-fifths of the *tera* amount payable for each of them at their marriage, but if he takes them, he pays only 12 pagodas each, while the usual *tera* is 20 pagodas.

This is one of the few castes in which the wife may be older than the husband by months and even, though rarely, by years. This is explained by them as owing to their disinclination to forego their right to marry a sister's daughter which is universally recognised in the caste.

There are no impassable bars to marriage imposed by religious or professional considerations, but they usually contract marital relations only with families that are known to one another and that are already so connected. Such of the caste as have long given up criminal and predatory habits, and have settled in towns and villages owning houses and other property, will not naturally enter into alliance with their castemen, who are still notoriously addicted to such habits.

The Korachas who have adopted settled habits, have been imitating Vakkaligas and other similar castes in their marriage ceremonial to a greater or less extent. But the wandering portion of them still retain their peculiarities. They observe no *Vilya-Sāstra* (ವಿಲ್ಯಾಸಾಸ್ತ್ರ), do not call in any band of pipers nor use the *bhāshinga* (ಭಾಷಿಂಗ) marriage chaplet, and some do not even erect a marriage booth. The Brahman astrologer is consulted only to see if the stars corresponding to the names of parties agree\* and to fix a day. He has no further share in the celebration of the marriage.

Monday is considered the proper one to commence the actual ceremony. On the previous Friday, the bridegroom goes to the bride's hut and presents her with a few coins, the acceptance of which signifies her consent. They are both then rubbed with turmeric paste and have a general feasting separately in their own places.

If the parties live in separate villages, the bridegroom and his party arrive at the village of the bride and pitch their hut near hers.

On the day fixed for the marriage, two fresh huts are erected, with their doors opening to the east, one being for the bride and the other for the bridegroom. Strictly speaking, this should be done though they live in houses in villages, as marriages must always take place before huts temporarily put up, but these living in towns have mostly

---

\* This is called in Kannaḍa as *Hesarubala* (ಹೆಸರುಬಲ), i. e., agreement of names.

given up this practice. The parties are led to their huts and are anointed and bathed. They are then seated on pieces of date mats and are besmeared with turmeric. After this, they have a dinner for the castemen.

In the evening at about 6 the bride and the bridegroom are again anointed and bathed. Dressed in fresh clothes, they are made to sit facing each other on date mats between the two huts. The fringes of their garments are tied together, and between the couple two pots (ಅಂಜನ ಪಾತ್ರೆಗಳು) are kept on a date mat and worshipped. They rest their hands on these pots, the hand of the bridegroom being placed over that of the bride; and each ties to the other's wrist a *kankana* of woollen and cotton threads twisted together and a turmeric root, a betel leaf and a copper ring tied to it. Similar *kankanas* are tied to the pots also. The couple are then led to the bride's house by the bridegroom's maternal uncle or a similar relation. That night, the bride and the bridegroom observe a fast.

Early in the morning, the next day, the maternal uncle of either the bride or the bridegroom who happens to be unmarried, cuts a branch of a *Nérale* tree (*Jambhulana*, and places it at a well or a water course. Five persons, two men and three married women, go there carrying two sacred pots and a light, fill the pots with water, worship them and the piece of *Nérale* wood, and bring them to the bride's hut. This branch is fixed on a small dais in front of the bride's hut and the pots are deposited on a bed of rice spread near it. Two earthen dishes filled with cotton seed and castor oil are placed on these pots and lighted and kept burning till the *dhare* is over. It is the belief that if these lights, styled *mandapa dipa* (ಮಂಜಪದೀಪ), burn steadily, the marriage will prove a happy one. A *kalasa* is also placed there on grains of rice spread in a dish, and *pūja* is made to it, a cocoanut being offered and frankincense burnt.

The bride and the bridegroom are now conducted to this place and stand facing each other, the bride looking towards the east. The bridegroom ties the *tūji* made of a string of black glass beads round the bride's neck; and then they put handfuls of rice on each other's head. The married couple sit to a common meal (ಬಿಸು), with the three women and two men that have brought the sacred twig and pots, in which cooked rice, plantains, jaggory and ghee are served to them.



After this they have *Nalugu* when the bridegroom and the bride sit together and offer to each other flowers, sandal, turmeric paste and *pan-supari*, and pour *sāse* or rice\* on each other. Then with the fringes of their garments tied together, and holding each other by the right hands, they are taken to bathe. They sit side by side on wooden pestles laid on the ground and water is poured on them. They go with wet clothes on and worship the *Nérale* twig by going round it thrice and falling prostrate before it.

"The pot searching" ceremony takes place next. A pot decorated with chunam lines is filled with red coloured water, and pieces of silver, copper and gold are thrown in it. The bride and the bridegroom are made to search for and pick out these pieces alternately.

That evening the bride and the bridegroom dressed in rich clothes, and the girl profusely bedecked and crowned with flowers go in state to a temple and after worship return to the bride's hut, the procession being led by a married woman carrying a lamp on her head. At the entrance of the hut, the woman waves this lamp about the couple for which service she receives a little present. The couple are then taken into the hut, given fresh clothes and served with food, which they and the three married women and two men referred to, must eat from the same dish. This is called the second *Buma* (ಬುಮ).

Then the *Nérale* branch set up in the pandal, is removed after *pūja* from its place. Before its removal, the castemen assemble and demand presents according to the means of the parties. They begin sometimes as high as a hundred rupees, but by haggling the demand is reduced to about five or ten rupees. Occasionally when the parties are very poor, it is even compounded for a betel leaf and a nut.

The bride and the bridegroom are again besmeared with turmeric, and the mother fills the girl's garment with presents consisting of dry cocoanuts (*kopra*) cut in halves, turmeric roots, betel leaves and nuts, five quarter-seers of rice and five *hanas*. They then rise from their seats with the fringes of their garments tied together and holding

---

\* Rice is believed to be the sign of plenty and the throwing of rice on the heads of the couple by way of blessing is meant to invoke prosperity and happiness on them. In every auspicious ceremony this is an important item.

each other's right hand. The bride transfers the presents into the cloth of the bridegroom, who keeps the rice and returns the rest to her. They salute the elders by prostrating before them and receive their congratulations accompanied with presents of money ranging from a two auna piece upwards, though rarely going to rupees. The hut erected for the husband is then pulled down and its materials and the domestic vessels contained in it are carried to some distance by the bride, who also drives at the same time her husband's donkeys to the new site. She then puts up the hut again and with five married women who accompany her, she fetches water from a well, cooks food and serves it to all the guests. This finally installs her in her new house as its mistress.

This hut is again pulled down and those who brought the materials of the hut and the milk post tie them up in a bundle, which they sink in a pond or well. They are then dismissed with presents of *pan-supari* and some money.

The amount of bride price or *tera* (or *ôli* in Telugu) is 24 pagodas or Rs. 72, and in some places 20 pagodas or Rs. 60. It is said that sometimes as much as Rs. 100 has to be paid. On account of the general poverty of the caste, the payment is spread over a large number of years and it is reported to be not uncommon for a man to remain indebted to the family of his father-in-law during his whole life. Among some families, particularly among the wandering portion of the caste, the son-in-law lives near his father-in-law's hut till a child is born to him.

Among the more civilized portion of the caste, half the *tera* is paid at once, the remaining half being paid at a subsequent date or at the consummation of marriage. A widower marrying a virgin need not pay any additional amount.

The expenditure at a marriage of course greatly varies according to the means of the parties. In addition to the amount of *tera*, the average for a family in ordinary (which generally means, poor) circumstances, may be roughly estimated to be twenty rupees for toddy, twenty-five rupees as feeding charges, and twenty-five rupees for clothes and sundry purposes.

Both parties, especially that of the bridegroom, must supply the castemen with drink every day, and any omission to do so is resented and leads to quarrel.

## Puberty.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for four days. During this period, she remains outside the house or hut and a separate shed, made of green leaves of *Lakkali* plant is put up for her. She is given a mat to sit on, and a branch of *Ekka* plant and an iron knife are kept always in the shed to ward off evil spirits, to whose attacks she is considered specially liable during the time. Among people living in villages and towns, the ceremony of presenting the girl with cocoanuts and other things filled in her garment, is observed every evening.

On the fifth day, two married women assist her to bathe and present her with *pan-supari*, dried cocoanut halves and some dates and Bengal gram soaked in water. Green gram and rice are separately boiled and mixed together with jaggory and made into balls of which three are given to the girl to eat, the rest being given away to two boys and two girls. There is generally a dinner to the caste. The girl takes only one meal during the day.

In the case of a girl who has attained puberty before marriage, consummation is delayed for three months after the marriage, at the end of which the husband goes to his wife's hut, a caste dinner is given, and man and wife thereafter live together.

Widow  
Marriage.

Widow marriage is freely allowed, and a woman may marry as many times as she pleases, provided that at the time of every subsequent marriage, her previous husband is either dead or has divorced her. The ceremony observed is very simple. The head of the caste styled *Nayak* is invited along with other caste people. In the evening of the day fixed, before the house of the woman, her intended husband presents her with a new cloth with or without some jewels in addition. The *hana* presented to the caste by her previous husband at marriage, is returned to his heir, and a similar sum is now given to the caste by the new husband. The *Nayak* then declares them husband and wife. The castemen are treated to a dinner and are regaled with toddy. The *tera* amount paid to a widow varies between from three pagodas to fourteen pagodas.

A widow cannot marry her husband's brother, but may marry any other belonging to his division or sept. It has been stated in one account that the second husband who is allowed the concession of paying a low *tera* has to support the children of the woman by her first husband,

though when grown up, they revert to the family of the first husband.

Divorce is permitted on account of the wife's adultery. Divorce. The divorced woman may marry her paramour, the latter having to pay to the previous husband not only the *tera* amount paid by him, but also the expenses of marriage.

Adultery with a man of a higher caste is generally condoned, but entails excommunication when the woman has gone astray with a man of a lower caste. It has been stated that a man of this caste who attempts to outrage the chastity of a married woman, is punished by having his head and whiskers completely shaved, and paraded in the street seated on a she-donkey, a paste of onions being previously applied to his bald crown. If he wishes to rejoin the caste, he is fined the cost of a dinner with toddy to the castemen.

They are not very strict in matters of sexual morality. But it is difficult to believe as stated in a recent publication that they sell or pledge their wives "taking them back" upon redemption of the pledge with any children born "in the interval and treating them as though nothing had happened."\* No trace of this practice as a custom, could be discovered by enquiries made in this State. It is likely that the observation is due to a hasty generalisation from some causes of sexual laxity coming to notice. But poverty and a low standard of morality account for the wives of criminals incarcerated for long terms accepting the protection of some one else, and returning to the husband after his return.

If a man has sexual connection with an unmarried girl and the fact becomes known to the caste, the pair will be married under *kúdi* form. The man pays some fine, which is spent in supplying toddy to the castemen, and gives a dinner. The pair remain separate till they go to Tirupati and have the ceremony called *tala-bálu* (తలబాలు) performed there. Two or three castemen accompany them to the temple there. After worshipping at the shrine, the priest throws some rice on the heads of the pair seated together with their children, if any, on either side. They then, in their turn, pour rice on each other's heads. This fully validates their marriage, and the children born of this wedlock, whether before or after this ceremony, will

\* Notes on Criminal Class by Mr. Mullaly.

be entitled to have their marriages performed in the regular fashion. The omission of this ceremony is said to leave the children in the inferior status of *Kudike-Salu* (progeny of concubinage) and they are not allowed marriage relations with those regularly born.\* If a widow or a divorced woman marries another, the form of marriage is *kudike*, but she need not undergo the *tala-balu* ceremony at Tirupati, as she has already undergone regular marriage once.

Death ceremonies.

They bury their dead. As soon as life is extinct, the body is washed and a mark is put on the forehead *nāma* if a male and *kunkuma* spot if a female. Then it is covered up in a new cloth and is carried to the burial ground on a bier built of bamboos. The carriers must, if possible, be all related as agnates to the deceased. As usual, the body is placed on the ground when half-way to the burial ground, and the chief mourner going round it three times from right to left,† breaks a new pot standing by the head of the corpse, and throws about cooked rice round the bier. Thereupon the carriers change sides and take the body straight to the burial ground. They lower the body into the pit, and the chief mourner puts the first handful of earth, the others all doing likewise after him. When the grave is thus closed up, the chief mourner goes round the ground with a burning faggot of wood and quenches it at the head side of the buried body.‡ The body is buried with the head turned to the south and only the cloth in which the body has been rolled up is buried along with it. On the grave they leave a quarter anna\*\* coin which a Holeyā takes for himself. The party return home after bathing in a river or a well, and have to see a light kept burning at the place where the deceased expired.

\* This practice is in vogue only among the wandering portion of Korachas.

† For auspicious ceremonies when one has to go round in token of showing respect or worship, one goes from left to right—in the way the sun moves apparently in the sky. In un auspicious ceremonies, such as death ceremonies, one generally circumambulates in the contrary or *apasavya* manner.

‡ This is known in Telugu as *talagorivi petṭēdi* (తలగోరివిపెట్టేది), i.e., placing a faggot at the head.

\*\* This is called in Kannada *nelahāga* (ನೆಲಹಾಗೆ) and is said properly to belong to a caste of men known as *Sudugādu Siddas* (ಸೂಡುಗಾಡುಸಿದ್ಧರು) or *Kāti Pāpas* (ಕಾತಿಪಾಪಲು) in Telugu. The Holeyā collects this on behalf of the above and when they pay the Holeyās periodical visits, the latter have to pay some amount on this account.

On the third day, the chief mourner and some others of the family go to the burial ground and offer cooked rice and water to the deceased. Again on the fifth day, they similarly offer food at the grave. It is believed that the spirit of the deceased is lingering about in the bodies of crows which should eat up this food. This day all the agnates take a bath which removes the pollution. At the end of a month or at a later date within the third month, all the castemen and relations are invited to a dinner, and offerings of food are made to a *kalasa* set up in the name of the deceased.

They do not observe *śrāddhas*, but during the Dasara or on the Mahalaya new-moon day—a *Kalasa* is set up in the middle of the house, new cloths, if they can afford to buy them, are kept near it, and *pūja* is made to it by burning incense and breaking a cocoanut in the names of the deceased ancestors.

Korachas were formerly a nomadic people, but many of them have now settled in towns and villages. They have no recognized head-quarters. The nomadic section are essentially a criminal class, figuring largely in dacoity, highway robbery and burglary. They go about in gangs when on their criminal expeditions, and different gangs have some means of keeping themselves informed of the movements and places of rendezvous of their allied gangs, to whatever distance they may penetrate. Social status.

Uru-Korachas live in houses similar to those of other castes of their own standing, but the wandering Korachas live outside the villages in temporary huts of arched covering like the top of a country cart, the bent bamboos being stuck in the ground, so as to leave a breadth of about four feet. They encamp in groups and when they shift their places, they carry away their huts on their bullocks. The thieving gangs generally select their places for camping in the jungle.

They have no objection to take into their fold persons male or female, of other castes, such as Vakkaligas, Banajigas or Kurubas, who are admittedly higher in social scale.\* Some accounts say that the convert must be one belonging by birth to the right hand group (18 Phapas), to which the Korachas belong. Some ceremony is observed at the time of admission. The candidate after a bath gets

\* It is said that a Brahman will not be admitted into their caste.

his tongue slightly touched with a burnt piece of gold or a margosa stick. Sometimes he has to swallow a little of turmeric and soapnut paste. He gets *tirtha* and *prasāda* in a temple, and afterwards gives a dinner to the castemen, with whom he also eats sitting in the same line, after the headman has publicly announced his admission. In the evening the castemen are generally regaled with toddy at the expense of the new-comer.

They are not required to employ Brahmans for their marriages or any other ceremonial purposes. But some of them, settled in towns, occasionally call in Brahmans chiefly as a mark of respectability, and when any Brahman does go to minister to them, he is not subjected to any social disability.

In social position, they rank very low, although they belong to the right hand group of castes known as the Eighteen Phanas. In the bell and the spoon, the insignia of the Eighteen Phanas which is always kept in the custody of the Chalavādi,\* the professional symbol of the Korachas, namely, the splitting knife, is engraved, and the Chalavādi carries the insignia in their processions and other solemn occasions. The Korachas are admitted only into the outer portions of the houses of Brahmans, and actual bodily contact with them is avoided. When a congregation of all the castes takes place in a temple, the Korachas occupy a place only next above the Nayindas (barbers) and Agasas (washermen) and do not enter the inner portion of the temple. They can live in the same quarter of the village which other non-Brahman classes occupy, but in large towns they usually have separate quarters. They are lower in status than the Médas, another class of workers in bamboo. The Korachas who follow this profession can be singled out from the Médas from the absence of *Trisūla* or trident engraved in their (Korachas') knife. As regards dining, the only classes who eat in the houses of Korachas are Holeyas and Mádigas.

They eat sheep, goats, pigs, the larger species of the lizard class and fish of all kinds. They do not eat beef or kill snakes and monkeys. They indulge rather excessively in drink, using both country and foreign liquor.

---

\* Chalavadi, who is a Holeyā in caste, is the servant of the group of castes coming under the Eighteen Phanas. He is the custodian of the symbol of this section, the bell and the ladle, on which are engraved the several insignia of the castes composing it.

The Ūru and other settled divisions of the Korachas have a Setti and a Yajman as their tribal functionaries, who enquire into and settle their disputes. Their presence is necessary in all marriage and other ceremonies. They are said to belong to the right hand division, that is, Eighteen Nayas and as such are under the jurisdiction of the Dêsa Setti. Tribal organization.

The wandering Korachas are divided into several gangs at the head of each of which is a *Náyak* or headman. The office of this man is not hereditary but goes to the most competent among them. He commands much respect in the community and settles all the disputes among them. When they divide their predatory gains, the *Náyak* gets an extra share and in return, it is incumbent on him to use every endeavour to obtain the release of any one of the gang that may be caught and cast in prison, and to make proper arrangement for the maintenance of the convict's wife and children. Periodically members of all the gangs meet at a known rendezvous and settle their caste disputes. Such meetings continue for several days and the toddy and arrack shops in the vicinity drive a good trade.

The general Hindu law is applied to them in matters of inheritance. But in the case of those not regularly settled in towns, they rarely have property sufficient to raise any questions of dispute, and as such property that they have is generally of a kind not to bear too close an investigation as to its origin, the disputes are generally settled among themselves. The father seems to be regarded as having more power than under the ordinary law, and the sons are not allowed to claim a share against his wish. They settle disputes by caste meetings, and the decisions are enforced by pain of social ostracism. Inheritance

The divisions named above, are occupational. Uru Korachas used to trade in earth salt and even now in the places where it is prepared, they buy it up from the Upparas or salt makers and retail it to the villagers. The trade however has almost disappeared owing to the competition of sea salt. Now they have settled down to agriculture, and are hardly distinguishable from the other agriculturists, unless it be from the soothsaying and tattooing which their women still practise. The Korachas of this division are also known as *Dabbe* or Bamboo Korachas, and they make mats, winnows, sieves, cradles and baskets of all kinds and sizes. The Ghatlada or Uppu Korachas were also Occupation.



formerly great traders in salt. Before the country was opened up by railway communication, they used to ply between the sea-coast and the interior with droves of pack bullocks and asses, on the backs of which their merchandise of salt and grains was transported. They used to travel from place to place with salt in caravans with their women and children, carrying the materials of their huts along with them. But improved roads and means of transport have sadly encroached on their main lawful occupation, and has driven them more than ever to thieving where they have not settled down to agriculture. In some places, however, (as, *e. g.*, Avani, in the Mulbagal Taluk, Kolar District) they still adhere to their old profession and buy imported salt in fairly large quantities in weekly fairs, and sell it in retail in the surrounding villages, thus making a scanty living for themselves.

The Korachas are included under the criminal tribes and are placed under surveillance. They generally take great precautions in carrying out gang robberies, posting sentinels and overawing the inhabitants of the village from giving help to their victims. They train their youths in the arts of lying, and subject them to the discipline of suffering pain without wincing, so that they may not easily betray their accomplices when caught. Burglaries and robberies on a large scale are often the work of Korachas, and to strike terror into the hearts of the villagers, they sometimes carry torches with them.\* They are also adepts in cattle-lifting. Their women sometimes go about hawking baskets and professing to read fortunes, and collect information as to the most suitable houses for attack.

Tattooing is done by the women of the Koracha caste. Women are their patrons generally, though occasionally men submit themselves to the operation.† The tattooers "generally use pigments of black and green colour, rarely "of blue or dark green colours. They prepare these "pigments by mixing with the juice of certain plants or "herbs fine charcoal powder obtained by burning a cocoa- "nut shell and powdering it finely, or lamp-black or soot, "and adding to the mixture, before it is used, either breast "milk or water or both."‡

---

\* See Abbe Dubois on the customs and manners of the Hindus, pp. 66-67 as to the manner of their carrying out their nefarious trade.

† See Mysore Census Report, 1901, in which an excellent account of tattooing is given.

After the tattooing operation is over, the Koracha woman asks for and gets some chillies and a little salt which she waves round the tattooed portion repeating a formula which means that by the help of such and such a god, the effect of evil eyes cast on the tattoo, by the by-standers and others including the woman herself, be removed. Then she smears this portion with turmeric powder. This is said to prevent the tattooed portion from swelling.

The designs employed in tattooing are very varied, flowers, birds and plants being the most usual. The Koracha woman generally keeps a book in which are drawn a number of figures, which she submits to the patient for selecting the pattern. There is a graduated scale of charges for each design. In addition to these modes of living, they engage themselves in catching edible birds for sale or consumption by themselves. They catch birds by means of snares or nets and sometimes by placing gum on the roosts. The women sometimes gain a pittance by begging at the doors of others.

In the Census Report of 1901, the Korachas are Religion. classed as animists. Animism has been defined as "the belief which traces everything in the world, from the greater natural phenomena to the various diseases and misfortunes which afflict mankind, to the action of numberless indeterminate, powers or influences, among which, on the theory which gives rise to the name, the souls of departed chiefs and ancestors are supposed to occupy a prominent place." These distinctions are not, at any rate so far as the population of this State is concerned, exclusively applicable to any class or caste. The performance of Sráddhas and other similar ceremonies shows that the highest classes are not free from this belief. But as we go down in the scale, the belief in spirits and the practice of offering worship to them is found to assume more and more importance. Koracha class can hardly be regarded as pure animists as their principal god is Venkataramana of Tirupati, commonly known among them as Tirupati Timmappa. They go on pilgrimage to this shrine periodically, and as noticed already, any informal union of an unmarried girl with a man must be confirmed by the performance of the marriage rite there.

The names of the chief female deities worshipped by them are Durgamma, Máramma, Halagamma, Máthangamma, Gangamma, Maddúramma and Yellamma. The

worship of a spirit known as Munísvara, is very common in the caste. They offer sheep and goats to these deities and they eat the sacrificed animals. Each of their settlements contains a hut or other structure dedicated to one of these local gods, and they conduct the *púja* in their own manner.

They observe no fasts but keep some of the principal feasts of the Hindus, such as, the new-year's-day, Gauri feast and Navarátri. Saturdays are devoted to the worship of Venkataramana. All of them, whether belonging to the wandering or the settled section, bathe on that day and if a Vishṇu temple is near at hand, they go there and offer fruits and flowers and get *prasáda* before they eat their food.

They have faith in sorcery, but they consult no soothsayers. As the Koracha women are professional soothsayers, their want of faith in their own trade is significant. But they have an implicit belief in omens, and it is said that, whenever the Korachas propose going on their depre-datory excursions, they offer *púja* at their temple and pray to be favored with good luck. The omens and the significance attached to them are the same as for other castes who share the superstition, and they are such as the chirping of a lizard, sneezing, and the crossing of snakes, cats and other animals, when one starts on any business. Indeed, there is a regular code of omens on which the elder members are an authority, and the rules are even collected in printed books.

#### Miscellaneous.

Korachas get themselves tattooed. A woman may get tattooed any time before she becomes a mother. It is said that at the time when she gets tattooed for the first time, her paternal aunt is invited to a dinner. She is presented with a new *sádi* and the day is observed as a feast. As regards dress, men wear short drawers, a turban and an upper cloth and sometimes a coat. They put on ear-rings styled *Métimuruvu* (ಮೆಟಿಮುರುವು) and silver bangles on the wrists. Women wear a *sádi*, but not a *ravike*, but among

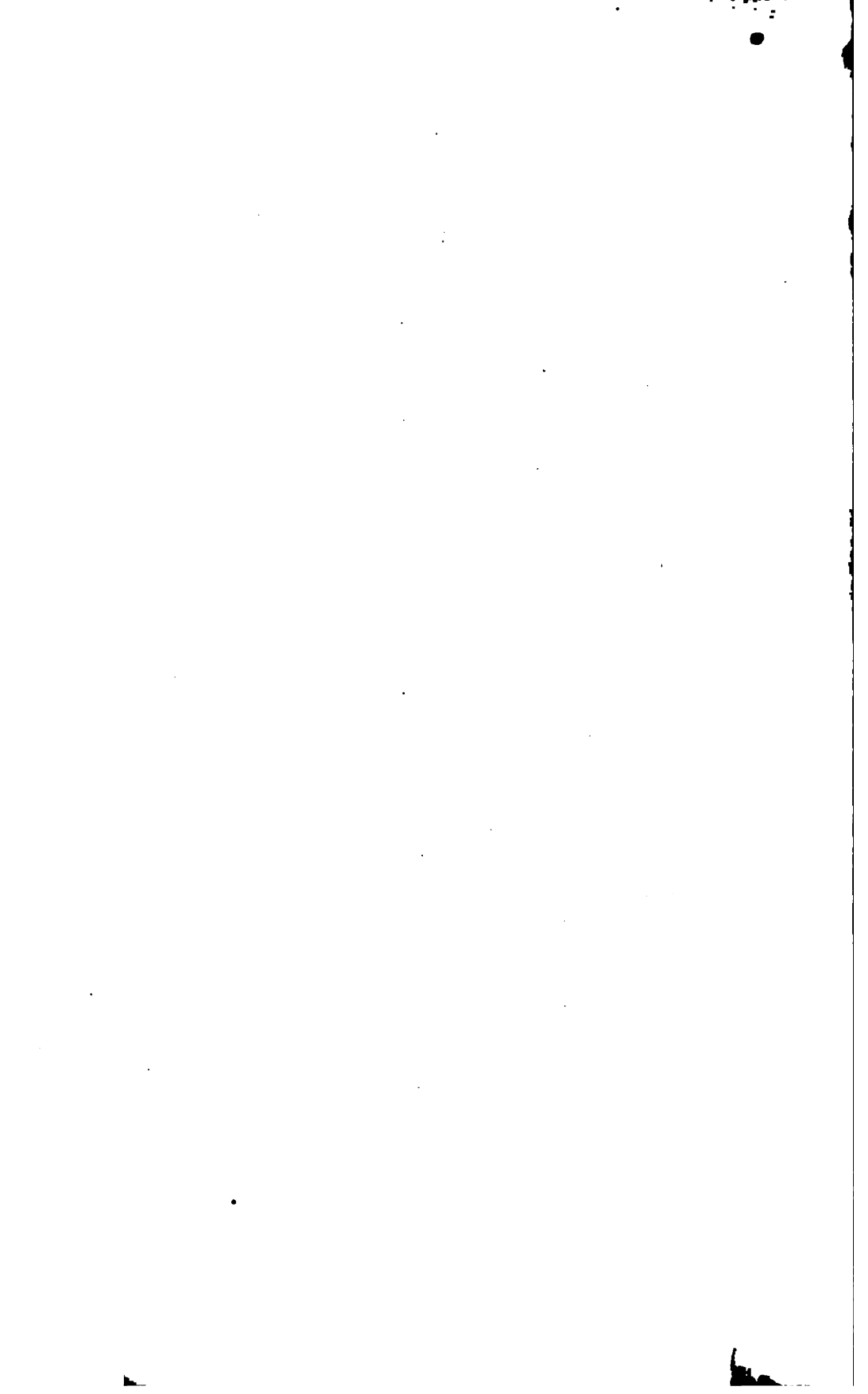
Úru and Sonai Korachas women wear this article of dress also. The wandering Koracha women put on garlands of glass beads profusely.

## APPENDIX.

‘ House or family names ’ of the Korachas.

---

- 1 *Allipe* (ಅಲ್ಲಿಪೆ)
  - 2 *Ambrúdrí* (ಅಂಬೂದ್ರಿ)
  - 3 *Ballaga* (ಬಲ್ಲಗ)
  - 4 *Banđi* (ಬಂದಿ)
  - 5 *Chendaru* (ಚೆಂದರು)
  - 6 *Dósari* (ದೊಸರಿ)
  - 7 *Gujjalu* (ಗುಜ್ಜಲು)
  - 8 *Kampa* (ಕಂಪ)
  - 9 *Khádri* (ಖಾದ್ರಿ)
  - 10 *Lósari* (ಲೊಸರಿ)
  - 11 *Mallelu* (ಮಲ್ಲೆಲು)
  - 12 *Mandalu* (ಮಂದಲು)
  - 13 *Maramánu* (ಮರಮಾನು)
  - 14 *Móta* (ಮೋಟ)
  - 15 *Penamađi* (ಪೆನಮಡಿ)
  - 16 *Púlu* (ಪೂಲು)
  - 17 *Pyàrama* (ಪೈರಾಮ)
  - 18 *Ráyitaru* (ರಾಯಿತರು)
  - 19 *Uligutólu* (ಉಲಿಗುತೋಲು)
  - 20 *Uyyáli* (ಉಯ್ಯಾಲಿ)
  - 21 *Vémudri* (ವೇಮುದ್ರಿ)
-



(Preliminary Issue.)

**The**  
**Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

---

**VIII.**

**BILI MAGGA CASTE.**

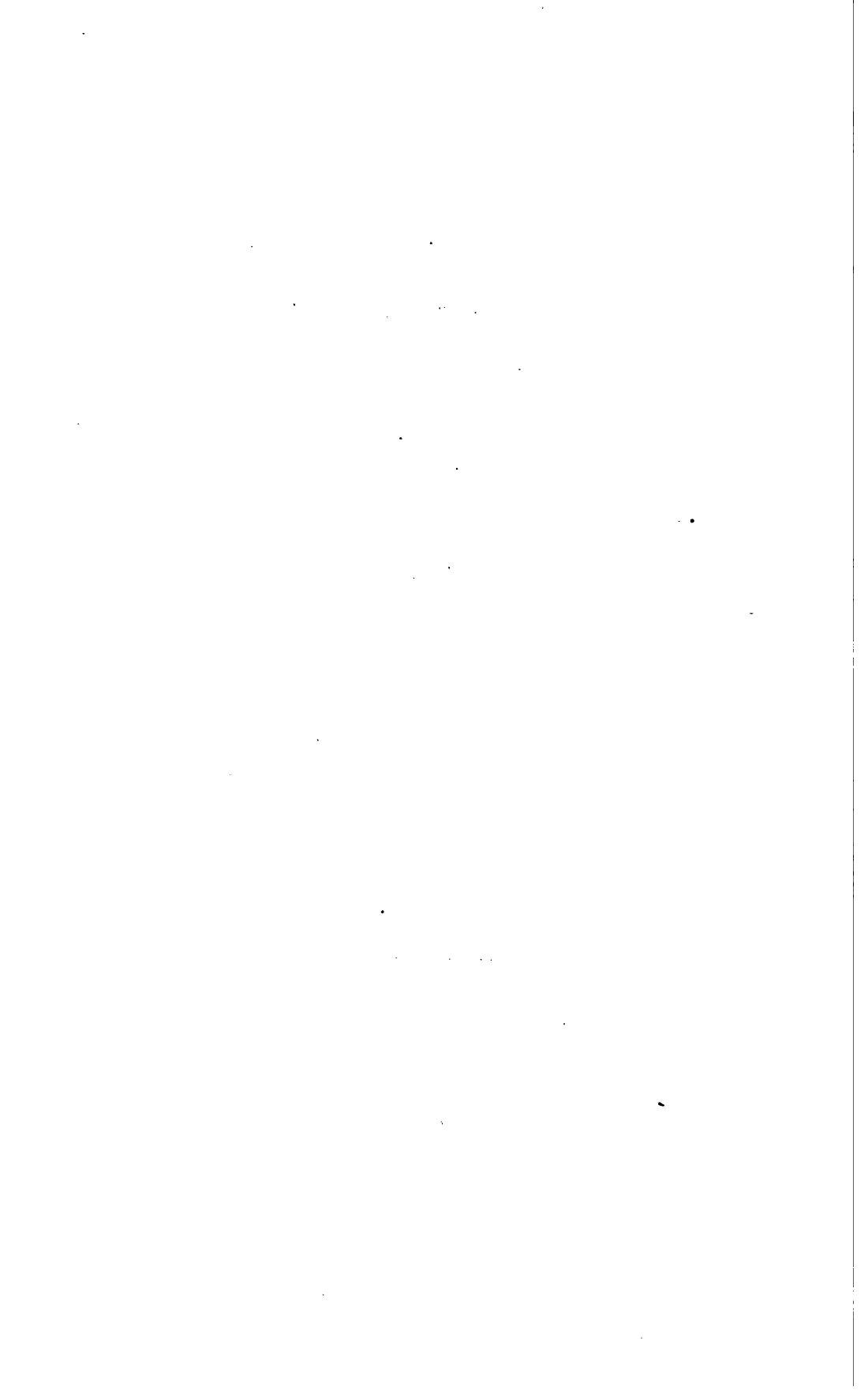
BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

---

BANGALORE  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS.  
1907.

*Price 4 Annas.*



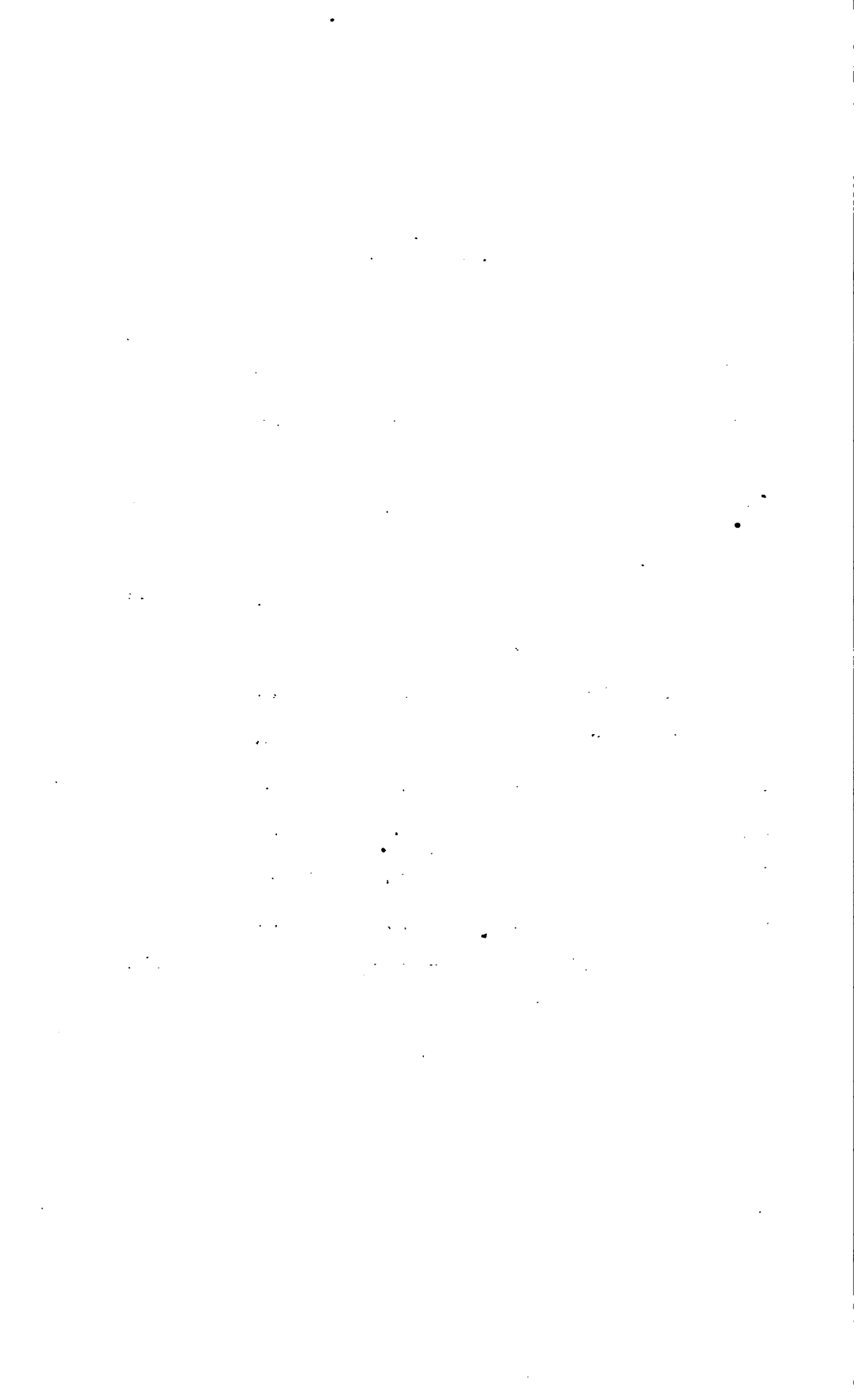
## CONTENTS.

---

	PAGE.
Name                   ...           ...           ...	1
Origin                   ...           ...           ...	1
Language               ...           ...           ...	1
Divisions               ...           ...           ...	1
Personal names       ...           ...           ...	2
Marriage               ...           ...           ...	2—5
Puberty                ...           ...           ...	5
Widow marriage       ...           ...           ...	5
Adultery and divorce                   ...           ...	6
Death                   ...           ...           ...	6
Social status           ...           ...           ...	6
Religion                ...           ...           ...	7
Occupation             ...           ...           ...	7
Appendix (List of Gótras or exogamous divisions)	8—10

---





## BILI MAGGA.

A sub-division of the weaver caste is known as those of Bili Magga (ಬಿಲಿಮಗ್ಗ white loom) from the white muslin and other cloth they generally produce. The term is considered by the caste as one of reproach and they call themselves Kuruvina Setti or Kuruvina Baṇajiga the meaning of which is not clear. Name.

Setti is the surname of the caste and is appended to the personal name at the end.

No information is available about their origin. These belong to the Kannaḍa country, and profess to be the direct offspring of Īsvara and Párvati. Origin.

They form a population numbering about 10,000. They speak Kannaḍa, but it is said that there are some in South Kanara who use the local language, Tulu. Language.

The caste contains two endogamous divisions, namely, those that are Lingayats and those that are not Lingayats. There is no intermarriages between them, but the non-Lingayat Bili Magga men eat in the houses of those that have embraced the Lingayat religion, but not *vice versa*. In some places the Lingayat portion of the caste is called Dodḍa (or big) Kuruvinavaru and the non-Lingayat section Chikka (or little) Kuruvinavaru. Divisions.

The caste is divided into sixty-six exogamous divisions\* divided into two groups respectively known as the Siva and the Párvati group or the male and the female group, each group containing thirty-three gótras, with the usual prohibition against the intermarriage between those bearing the same family name. Most of these names are taken from plants, animals, implements, etc., but it is difficult to trace any totemistic superstitions among them. They seem to think that it is a sin to injure these articles.

---

\* Names of Exogamous divisions are to be found in the Appendix.

They have no hypergamous divisions.

Personal  
names.

The personal names are the different names by which Íswara and Párvati are known. They say that they have no superstition in the naming of children. The name-giving ceremony takes place on the eleventh day or so after the birth of a child. It is named after the names of its grandfather or grandmother. If the first born children are dead, the succeeding child is generally given an opprobrious name, such as Káda (jungle), Gunda (round stone) or Sudugáda (burial ground).

The following may be taken as typical names :—

Males.

Basappa (ಬಸಪ್ಪ).  
Kaḷappa (ಕಾಳಪ್ಪ).  
Siddappa (ಸಿದ್ಧಪ್ಪ).  
Révaṇṇa (ರೇವಣ್ಣ).

Females.

Basamma (ಬಸಮ್ಮ).  
Kamma (ಕಾಳಮ್ಮ).  
Siddamma (ಸಿದ್ಧಮ್ಮ).  
Gangamma (ಗಂಗಮ್ಮ).

Adoption is recognized in the caste, but the boy adopted may marry, it is stated, in the house he is adopted to. A daughter's son may be adopted.

Marriage.

There is no age restriction for eligibility to marry in either sex. Marriages of girls of ten or twelve are more common than those after puberty, as it is considered not honorable to take a girl that has driven cattle at her father's house. They say that their girls need not remain without marriage for a long time since husbands are easily available.

A man may marry his elder or younger sister's daughter or paternal aunt's or maternal uncle's daughter. One may marry two sisters at different times, and two brothers also may marry two sisters. Exchange of daughters is also allowed.

Differences in social status or in locality have no theoretical value in matters of marriage; nor occupation either, except such as entails loss of caste, as for example, removing night-soil or mending shoes.

As regards marriage ceremonies both the divisions observe the same, but while the non-Lingayat Kuruvina-varu invite Brahmans to officiate at their marriages, the Lingayat portion prefer a Jangama, in whose absence a Brahman will be called.

They have a preliminary engagement called Vilyada Sāstra (ವಿಲ್ಯದಾಸಾಸ್ತ್ರ) some days before the marriage. The bridegroom and his party go to the bride's house carrying the auspicious articles such as betel-leaves, areca-nuts, flowers, jaggory, parched Bengal gram and fruits, with a new *sādi*. The elders of the caste meet there on the occasion when the promise is made and the day of marriage and other details are settled. The castemen are invited to a dinner.

The marriage takes place in the bride's house and continues for seven days. The essential portion of the ceremony is known as the pouring of the *dhāre*.

The first day is the worshipping of their family god Nīlakanthéswara. This is in other castes known as Dévarūta. The bride and the bridegroom are smeared with turmeric in their own houses. This is known Modalarsina (ಮೋದಲರಸಿನ) or Madavaniga Sāstra (ಮದವಣಿಗಾಸ್ತ್ರ).

The second day is known as Naḍu Madavaniga Sāstra. (ನಡುಮದವಣಿಗಾಸ್ತ್ರ) that is the second smearing of turmeric to bride and the bridegroom.

The third day is the Pandal erecting ceremony (or ಪೆಂದರ). A pandal is raised in front of the marriage house and is supported by twelve posts and roofed with the stalks of sugar-cane. A platform is erected for the sitting of bride and bridegroom in marriage. The roof overhanging the platform is generally canopied with a white cloth. The bride and bridegroom are anointed and bathed and smeared with saffron and the bride is dressed in a cloth dyed yellow, with turmeric powder, and the bridegroom dresses himself in a white suit of clothes.

Then the brother of the bride goes in state to an Indian fig tree (ಅತ್ತಿವರ) and after doing the usual *pūja* to it cuts a branch and bringing it in procession to the marriage pandal, ties it to the central pillar on the marriage platform. This is considered as the Hālu \*Kambha (ಹಾಲುಕಂಬ) or the *milk post*. To it a *kankana* and a bundle of nine kinds of grain (ನವಧಾನ್ಯ) are tied and worshipped. Then married women go to the potter's house and bring twelve earthen pots or Arivéṇis (ಅರಿವೇಣಿಗಳು). These are again carried by the married women (ಮುತ್ತೈದೆಯರು) to a well where they fill them with water and bring them to

\* It is said that the father of the bride may not touch either the *milk post* or the *Bhāshinga*.

the marriage house. These pots are kept in a separate room and worshipped during the marriage period.

On the third day, *dhāru* takes place. Early in the morning five married women carry five new earthen pots to a tank to bring sacred water (ಕಾಸ್ಟ್ರೋನೀರು) for the marriage. After they return in procession accompanied with the beating of drums and the sounding of cymbals, the bride and the bridegroom are seated in the marriage pandal within the square formed by placing four vessels at each corner of it, the fifth pot being placed at the *milk post* on the marriage dias. In each of these pots betel-leaves, turmeric and kunkuma are thrown and they are connected with one another by means of a cotton thread passing three times round their necks. Then the bride and the bridegroom are bathed in this square and are given fresh clothes. This ceremony is called *Surgi* and corresponds to *malanīru* (ಮಲನೀರು) in other castes.

The bridegroom is led into a temple or to a relative's house where he takes his seat on a blanket. The party of the bride go there with a *Kalasa*, smear the bridegroom with turmeric and bring him to the bride's house. Then the bridegroom comes seated on a bull with a dagger in his hands. He is led on to the marriage dias and made to stand facing the bride with a screen between. As the *Puróhit* repeats the appropriate *mantras*, the bride pours the milk over the hands of the bridegroom. The boy is made to tie the *tāfi* round the neck of the girl and the guests assembled throw *akshate* (ಅಕ್ಷತೆ) or colored rice over their heads by way of blessing. An *drati* is performed to the couple by married women and *tāmbūla* distributed to the assembly. The pair now rise holding each other with their fingers and having the hems of their garments tied together and go round the *milk post* three times offering *namaskāra* to it. Then they retire to the room in which the pots are placed and offer *pūja* to them. Then the pair and five married couple on either side sit to eat *bhūma* (ಭೂಮ). Cooked rice, ghee, and sweet cakes (ಕಾಜ್ಜೆಯ) are mixed and served in two eating dishes (ತಣಿಗೆಗಳು). At one of them the bridegroom and five married couple of his party, at the other the bride and five married couple of her party sit and eat the food so served.

The next day is known as *Nāgavali* (ನಾಗವಲಿ). The ceremonies observed are the same as in other castes, such as bringing ant-hill earth and worshipping the pillars of the

**Pandal (ಸ್ವಲ್ಪಭಾಷ).** The succeeding two days are spent by the bridal pair going to the bridegroom's house and returning to the bride's house.

The expenses of the marriage to be borne by the bridegroom vary from Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 and the bride price is Rs. 25.

**Marriages** are arranged by the parents or other elders as among other castes.

They seem to have no traditions about the capture of wives from other tribes.

When a girl reaches puberty, she is kept outside the house in a small room for three days. On the fourth day she is bathed but her pollution remains for ten days to come. During this period the girl is not allowed to enter the kitchen and touch water used for the preparation of food and for drinking purposes. On the eleventh day the house is washed and cleaned and *mantras* are recited by Jangamas or Brahmans. If she is already married, her nuptials will be celebrated within sixteen days after her attaining puberty. Puberty.

The custom of mock marriages to trees and such other objects for lack of real husbands does not prevail in the caste.

Even if a marriage is celebrated during infancy, the girl will not be sent to live with her husband but is allowed to remain in her parents' house till she attains puberty and her marriage is consummated. In case of marriage after puberty, a separate ceremony is performed on a subsequent day determined as auspicious by an astrologer, when the husband and wife begin to live together. When a girl is sent to her husband, new cloths, jewels, household utensils, cows and such other things according to the means of the parents, are presented to her.

**Re-marriage** of widows is permitted. But such re-married women are prohibited from taking part in auspicious ceremonies. A widow is not allowed to marry her husband's brothers. She can marry in any other division than the one in which she was born. The form of marriage ceremony consists merely in the husband tying the *tāli* on an evening to the neck of his wife and giving a dinner to the caste men. Regularly married women do not attend such marriages.

Widow marriage.

Such marriages are not regarded favorably by the caste, and the offspring are considered to be somewhat inferior in status to others, at any rate for a generation or two, after which such origin is forgotten. Of course children of one husband do not inherit from the other.

Adultery  
and divorce.

Sexual license before marriage is not connived at and if a girl is found to be pregnant before marriage, she is put out of caste.

Adultery on the part of the women is the only recognized ground of divorce. When with a man of the same caste it is compounded sometimes, but with an outsider it always brings on degradation and excommunication.

Death.

They invariably bury the dead. They turn the head of the dead body towards the South. Their '*sūtaka*' for the dead lasts twelve days except for children under one year, when it is three days. During this period of pollution they do not enter the inner apartments of the house. The funeral ceremonial is the same as for the Lingayats generally.

They say they perform *Sraddha* for the propitiation of a dead person which consists in giving raw provisions to Brahmans or Jangamas. This ceremony is not performed for those who died childless or for maternal ancestors. Full obsequial ceremonies are not observed for those who met with a violent death.

If the first wife has died, the second wife propitiates her by observing a feast in her honor one day in the year and feeding married women and giving them presents of bodice, cloths, fruits and flowers. They do not bury with the dead any articles except ashes.

Social status.

In social matters such as contact with Brahmans, entry into temples, personal service by washermen, etc., they have the status of the higher Sudra classes.

Those that wear the Linga do not eat the flesh of animals or drink liquor, but those that do not wear a Linga eat mutton and the flesh of fowls and drink liquor on festive days. Those who do not wear the Linga eat only in the houses of Brahmans.

The habit of the caste is settled. They do not admit outsiders into the caste.

They follow the Hindu Law in the matter of inheritance. They have no hereditary chiefs but infringement of the rules of the caste is punished by Jangamas who are bound to follow the advice of the elders of the tribe. Should the fault be of such magnitude as to require excommunication, an assembly of the heads of families settles the question.

They are Hindus by religion and belong to the Lingayat sect by faith. There are some who wear the Linga, and some others who do not wear it, but all the same all of them profess to belong to one of the tribes of pure Bapajigas and to be capable of being appointed to priesthood. Religion.

Their chief objects of worship are Linga and the Bull,\* the emblems of Īswara. They also worship Nīlakantēśvara and Narasimhaswāmi. Their women worship all the village gods except those particularly belonging to the Holēyas. Fruits and flowers are offered to Māramma and other minor deities during times of epidemics. Worship of these goddesses and Saktis is confined to women. They have no faith in the virtue of Īragāraru, that is, persons who died bachelors.

Their Gurus are the same as those of the Pañchama Bapajigas. Their five chief mathas are called the Simhāsanas of Parvata at Hampi, Virūpāksha near Tungabhadra, Ujjini, Balēhalli and Chitradurg. These can be initiated into the sacred orders of the caste.

Sangamēśvara is their patron God. He is supposed to be present in bazaars and is worshipped in the opening of fairs. Those that do not wear the Linga and a few of those who wear the Linga employ Brahmans for religious and ceremonial purposes. An astrologer is generally consulted for the fixing of proper days for marriages and for commencing to build houses.

Their original and present prevailing occupation is weaving. Some are engaged in mercantile pursuits. Occupation.

All of them work on the old kind of simple loom set up in each house. They are not in a flourishing condition. There are few agriculturists and no fishermen among them. The Lingayat portion of the caste are vegetarians but the non-Lingayats are flesh eaters and drink liquor.

---

\* One peculiar custom among them is that they never geld bulls.



## APPENDIX.

List of Gótras\* or exogamous divisions.

---

<i>Agari</i>	(ಆಗರಿ)	A kind of grass
<i>Anchu</i>	(ಅಂಚು)	Border
<i>Anche</i>	(ಅಂಚೆ)	
<i>Arasina</i>	(ಅರಸಿನ)	Turmeric
<i>A're</i>	(ಆರೆ)	Pestle
<i>A'rya</i>	(ಆರ್ಯ)	
<i>Bahini</i>	(ಬಹಿನಿ)	
<i>Banaja</i>	(ಬಣಜ)	
<i>Basavi</i>	(ಬಸವಿ)	
<i>Banni</i>	(ಬನ್ನಿ)	Banni tree
<i>Bandi</i>	(ಬಂದಿ)	Cart
<i>Benne</i>	(ಬೆಣ್ಣೆ)	Butter
<i>Bhógi</i>	(ಭೋಗಿ)	
<i>Bi e</i>	(ಬಿಳಿ)	White
<i>Déva</i>	(ದೇವ)	
<i>Dharma</i>	(ಧರ್ಮ)	
<i>Durga</i>	(ದುರ್ಗ)	
<i>Gadige</i>	(ಗಡಿಗೆ)	Pot
<i>Garuda</i>	(ಗರುಡ)	Brahman kite
<i>Genasu</i>	(ಗಣಸು)	
<i>Gikkili</i>	(ಗಿಕ್ಕಿಲಿ)	
<i>Gadduge</i>	(ಗದ್ದುಗೆ)	
<i>Gauḍa</i>	(ಗೌಡ)	Headman
<i>Gúḍu</i>	(ಗೂಡು)	Nest
<i>Gariga</i>	(ಗರಿಗೆ)	An earthen vessel
<i>Guḍlu</i>	(ಗುಡ್ಲು)	A shed
<i>Gunḍu</i>	(ಗುಂಡು)	Boulder
<i>Halige</i>	(ಹಲಿಗೆ)	A plank

---

\* There are said to be only sixty-six of these divisions in the caste. But this list contains more than this number. Some of them may be house names,

<i>Hālu</i>	(ಹಾಲು)	Milk
<i>Heḡḡōtra</i>	(ಹೆಗ್ಗೊತ್ತ)	
<i>Huṭu</i>	(ಹುಟ್ಟು)	Flour
<i>Hola</i>	(ಹೊಲ)	Field
<i>Honge</i>	(ಹೊಂಗೆ)	A tree ( <i>Pongamia glabra</i> )
<i>Hullu</i>	(ಹುಲ್ಲು)	Grass
<i>Hingu</i>	(ಹಿಂಗು)	Asafoetida
<i>Ṇuchi</i>	(ಏಣುಚಿ)	A squirrel
<i>Iruṇi</i>	(ಐರಣಿ)	A pot
<i>Jāli</i>	(ಜಾಲಿ)	Kind of tree
<i>Jirige</i>	(ಜೀರಿಗೆ)	Cumin seed
<i>Junja</i>	(ಜಂಜ)	
<i>Kaḡle</i>	(ಕಡ್ಲೆ)	Bengal gram
<i>Kakke</i>	(ಕಕ್ಕೆ)	Kind of plant
<i>Kaṭṭe</i>	(ಕಟ್ಟೆ)	Boundary
<i>Kāḡu</i>	(ಕಾಡು)	Forest
<i>Kaṇṇi</i>	(ಕಣ್ಣಿ)	A rope
<i>Kara</i>	(ಕರ)	
<i>Kédage</i>	(ಕೇದಗೆ)	The pandanus flower
<i>Kamaḡi</i>	(ಕಮಡಿ)	
<i>Kenga</i>	(ಕೆಂಗ)	
<i>Kenja</i>	(ಕೆಂಜ)	
<i>Késari</i>	(ಕೇಸರಿ)	Saffron
<i>Kinkila</i>	(ಕಿಂಕಿಲ)	
<i>Kuḡure</i>	(ಕುದುರೆ)	Horse
<i>Kuruve</i>	(ಕುರುವೆ)	Sparrow
<i>Kunṭe</i>	(ಕುಂಟೆ)	Tank
<i>Maraku</i>	(ಮರಳು)	Sand
<i>Mallige</i>	(ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆ)	Jasmin
<i>Meṇasu</i>	(ಮೆಣಸು)	Pepper
<i>Midichi</i>	(ಮಿಡಿಚಿ)	
<i>Miri</i>	(ಮಿಣಿ)	A rope
<i>Muḡḡu</i>	(ಮುಳ್ಳು)	Thorn
<i>Muddu</i>	(ಮುದ್ದು)	
<i>Nara</i>	(ನರ)	
<i>Naḡa</i>	(ನಗ)	

<i>Nellu</i>	(ನೆಲ್ಲು)
<i>Nuchchu</i>	(ನುಚ್ಚು)
<i>Nàga</i>	(ನಾಗ)
<i>Parama</i>	(ಪರಮ)
<i>Rakshu</i>	(ರಕ್ಷ)
<i>Rikki</i>	(ರಿಕ್ಕಿ)
<i>Sarabha</i>	(ಶರಭ)
<i>Sampige</i>	(ಸಂಪಿಗೆ)
<i>Samsàra</i>	(ಸಂಸಾರ)
<i>Soppu</i>	(ಸೊಪ್ಪು)
<i>Súrya</i>	(ಸೂರ್ಯ)
<i>Sindhu</i>	(ಸಿಂಧು)
<i>Salige</i>	(ಸಲಿಗೆ)
<i>Uttama</i>	(ಉತ್ತಮ)
<i>Vriksha</i>	(ವೃಕ್ಷ)
<i>Vrishabha</i>	(ವೃಷಭ)
<i>Vanki</i>	(ವಂಕಿ)
<i>Yemme</i>	(ಯಮ್ಮ)

Paddy  
Broken corn  
Serpent

A fabulous animal.

Name of a flower

Vegetable greens

The Sun

Tree

Bull

Buffalo

(Preliminary Issue.)

**The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

---

**VIII.**

**BILI MAGGA CASTE.**

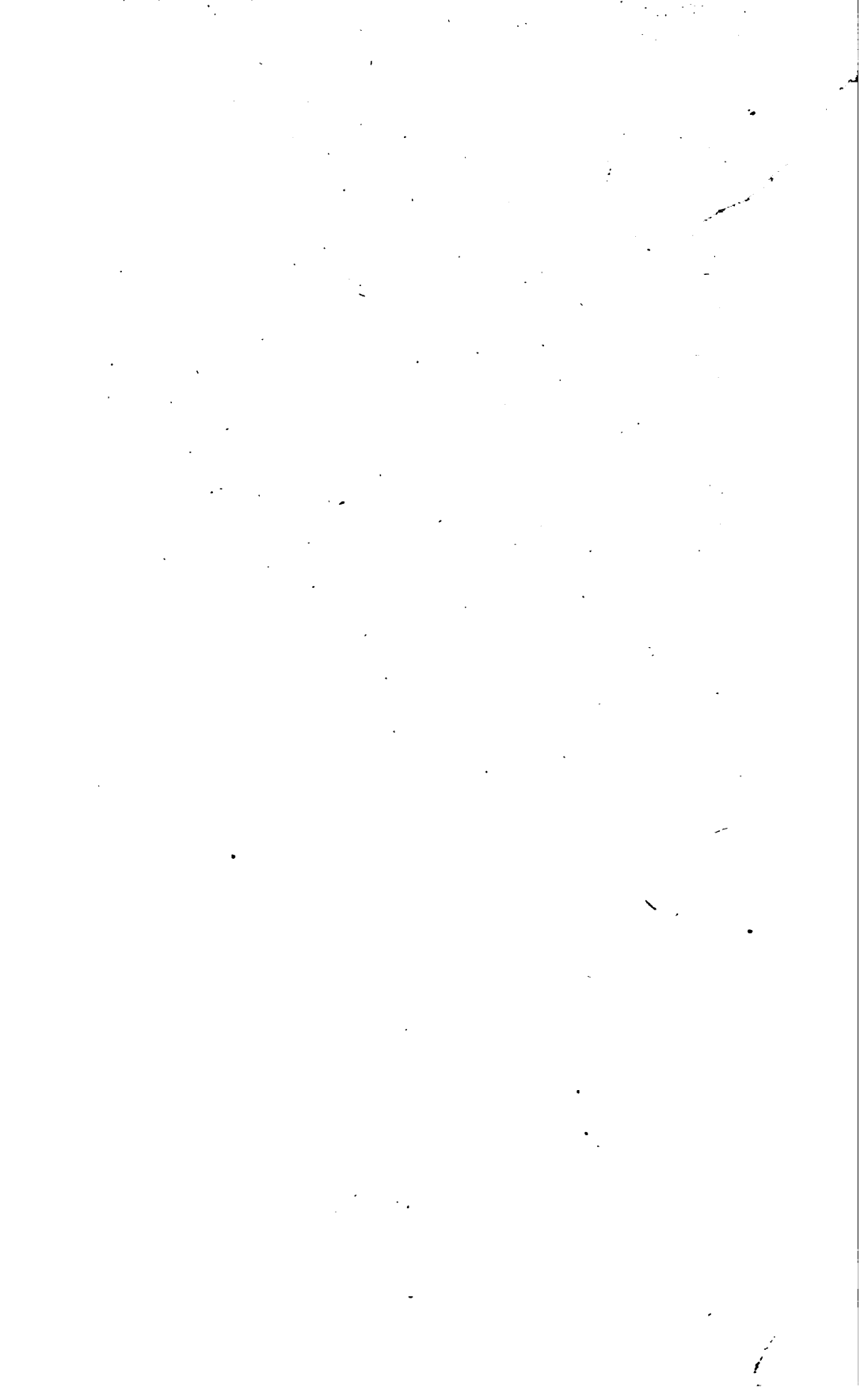
BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

---

BANGALORE  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS.  
1907.

*Price 4 Annas.*



(Preliminary Issue.)

**The**  
**Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

---

**IX.**  
**TIGALA CASTE.**

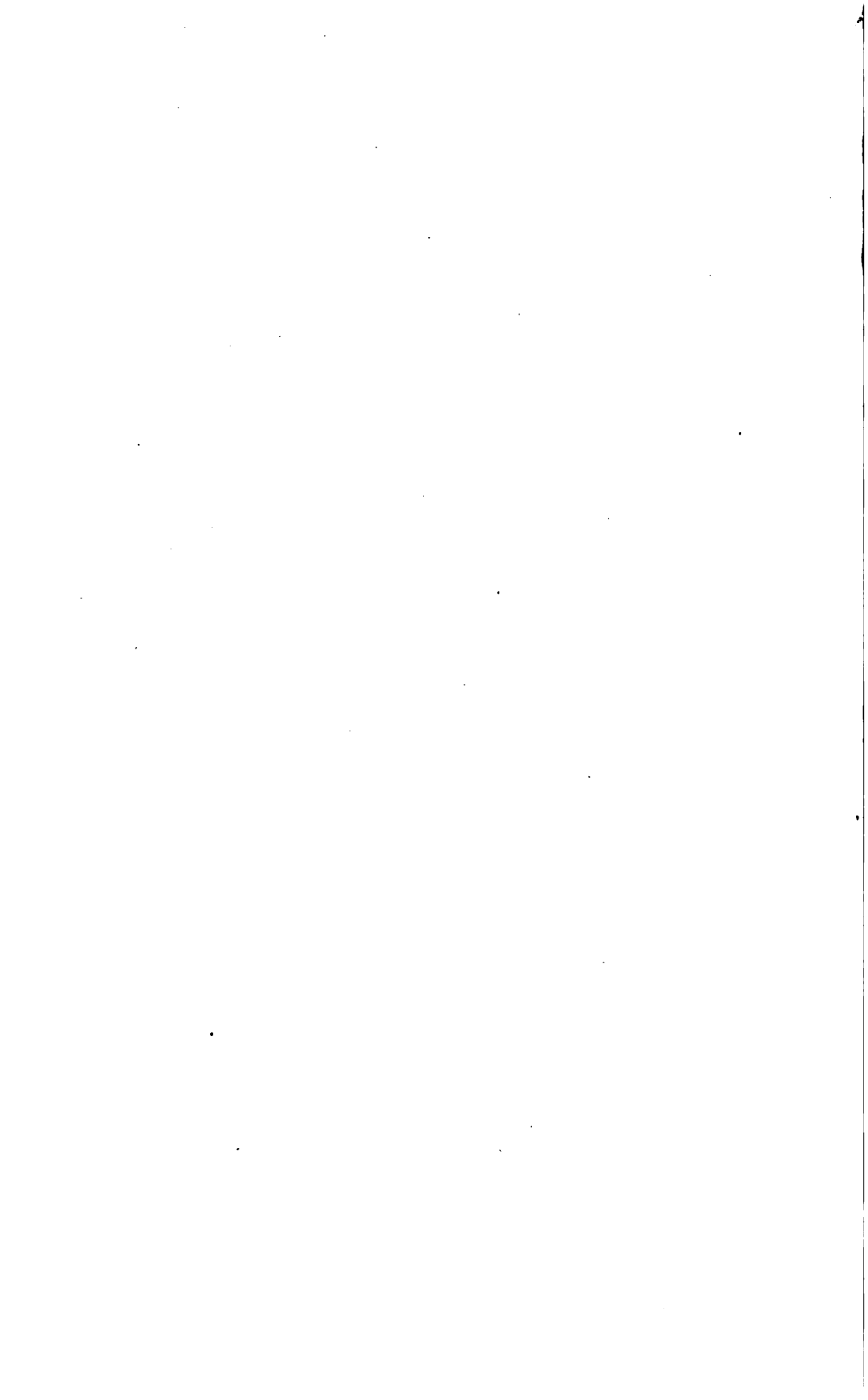
BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

---

BANGALORE  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS.  
1907.

*Price 4 Annas.*



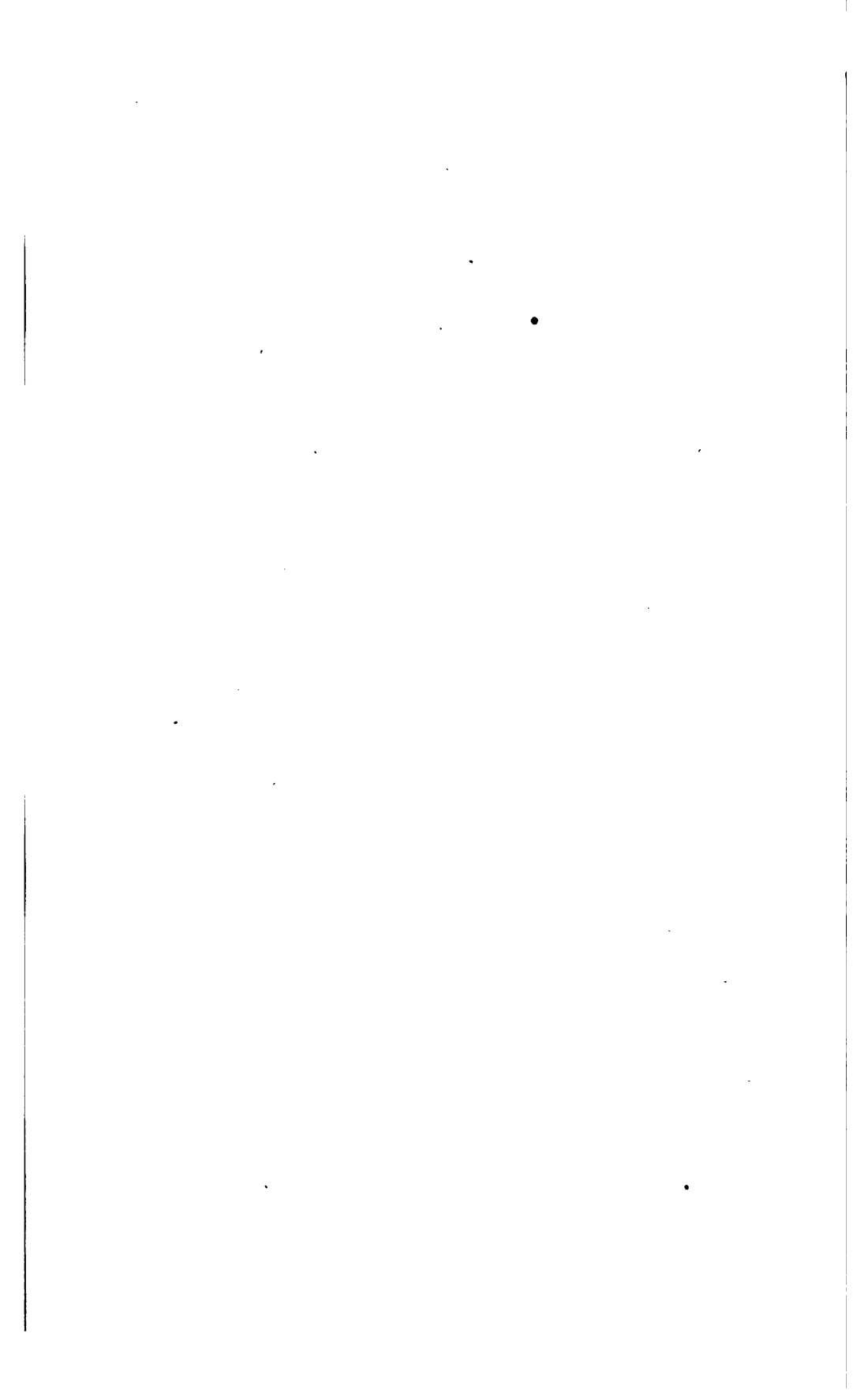
# CONTENTS.

---

	PAGE.
Tigalas	1
Language	1
Endogamous divisions	1
Exogamous divisions	2
Personal names	2
Adoption	3
Marriage	3
Marriage ceremonies	3
Tera	6
Puberty	6
Remarriage	6
Divorce	7
Adultery	7
Death ceremonies	7
Social habits	8
Inheritance	9
Occupation	9
Food	9
Religion	9
Caste organization	12

---





## TIGALAS.

**Tigala (ತಿಗಲ)** is the Kannada term for a Tamil-speaking man. The caste that is known by that name call themselves *Vannéru* or *Vannikuladavaru* (ವನ್ನೇರು ಅಥವಾ ವನ್ನಿಕುಲದವರು), the descendants of Vanni Raja, who, it is said, had five sons, the ancestors of the Vanniya caste. They form a population of 64,847, of whom 32,983 are men and 31,864 women. Tigalas.

The name *Vannéru* is derived from the Sanskrit *Vanhi*, fire, and there is a legend to explain the connection, which is similar to that of the rise of the Agnikulas from a sacrificial fire. In fact, these men say that they are descended from one of the Agnikula warriors. They call themselves the descendants of Agni Banniraya (ಅಗ್ನಿ ಬನ್ನಿರಾಯ). They are also known as the devotees of Dharmarāya, (ಧರ್ಮರಾಯನ ವಕ್ತೃಲು), as they worship the eldest of the Pandava brothers, as their patron deity. Usually they are known as *Tótada Tigalas* (ತೊತದತಿಗಲರು) as their chief profession is vegetable and other petty gardening, and as *Arava* or *Tamil Reddis*, or *Pallis* (i.e., villagers). *Gauḍa* (ಗೌಡ) is the title of the headman of the caste and is exclusively borne by him. Their earliest home according to tradition is *Kānchi-Puram* (Conjeveram).

They talk either Kannada or Tamil. Those that talk Kannada are the earliest immigrants among them into this State, and they are found in Tumkur. Language.

There are two main endogamous divisions known respectively as *Uffi* or *Kannada Tigala* (ಉಫ್ಫಿ ಅಥವಾ ಕನ್ನಡ ತಿಗಲರು) and *Arava Tigala* or *Dharmarāyana Vakkalu* (ಅರವ ತಿಗಲರು ಅಥವಾ ಧರ್ಮರಾಯನ ವಕ್ತೃಲು). The latter includes some sub-divisions who are not pure Tigalas, and who are known as *Tondramallaru* (ತೊಂಡಮಲ್ಲರು), those born of a Tigala man and a *Vakkaliga* woman, *Agamudiyavaru* (ಅಗಮುಡಿಯವರು) or those born of a Tigala man and a woman of a different caste, *Kanjavara* or people of Conjeveram, *Vannigaru* (ವನ್ನಿಗರು) and *Yelé Tigala* (ಯಲೆತಿಗಲರು), those who grow betel-vine. Endogamous divisions.

*Ulli Tigalas* (Onion Tigalas) are said to have obtained this curious appellation for the following reason. A troupe of Dombars gave an acrobatic performance in a village, of which all except Tigalas were invited to witness the show. The latter felt insulted and in order to outdo the Dombars in their own profession, they constructed a pole by lashing together onion stalks and made rope by twisting together the filaments of the same frail material, and surpassed the Dombars' feats of skill.

*Tondramallaru* are supposed to be inferior to the pure Arava Tigala and the Agamudis. They all eat together though intermarriages are prohibited.

Exogamous divisions.

The caste is broken up into a number of exogamous divisions each of which takes its name from a particular patron deity, the members believing that they are all connected by some sort of blood-relationship which distinguishes them from other divisions.\*

They have no hypergamous divisions.

Personal names.

The priests of Dharmaraya give their children the names of Arjuna, Bhima, Nakula, Sahadéva and Dharmaraya. There is no peculiarity in other names, those of gods, places or things being chosen just as in other castes. The following are some of the unusual names that have been given in this caste :—

*Males.*—Pullappa (ಪುಲ್ಲಪ್ಪ), Yarrappa (ಯರಪ್ಪ), Lanke (ಲಂಕೆ), Tumkúrayya (ತುಂಕೂರಯ್ಯ), Tambi (ತಂಬಿ), Hosahalli (ಹೊಸಹಳ್ಳಿ), Yataraya (ಯತರಾಯ), Payatanna (ಪಯತನ್ನ), and Yaggappa (ಯಗಗಪ್ಪ).

*Females.*—Hombáli (ಹೊಂಬಾಳಿ), Ananti (ಆನಂತಿ).

The Kannada section sometimes give opprobrious names to children born after loss of other children.

The class as a whole believe that the spirits of the children that died from any accident or from the bad treatment of the parents, tease the surviving children, and to avert such an evil they put on a talisman known as *Iragara*\*

\* The following are stated to be the names of exogamous groups :—

*Siddédévára manetana* (ಸಿದ್ಧೇದೇವರ ಮನೆತನ), *Lakshmidévára manetana* (ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿದೇವರ ಮನೆತನ), *Yellammadévára manetana* (ಯಲ್ಲಮ್ಮದೇವರ ಮನೆತನ), *Gúle-aravi Lakshmidévára manetana* (ಗೋಳ ಅರವಿ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿದೇವರ ಮನೆತನ), *Indratimmayyana Budakattu* (ಇಂದ್ರ ತಿಮ್ಮಯ್ಯನ ಬುಡಕಟ್ಟು), and *Dodd arasayyadévára manetana* (ದೊಡ್ಡ ನರಸಯ್ಯದೇವರ ಮನೆತನ).

*gūdu* (ಕುಡು), with some inscription in it round the neck of their children.

Adoption is recognised by the caste. It is not necessary that the boy to be adopted should belong to the same stock as the adopting father's. A sister's son or a son of the wife's sister can be adopted. The boy's status for marriage remains exactly as it was before adoption. The arrangement seems to be intended mainly to keep up the continuity of the family to which the boy is adopted. The adopted person is not prohibited from espousing the daughter of the adopting father in marriage. In some families, adopted children are not allowed to perform the funeral obsequies for their adopted parents. Adoption.

Marriages are arranged by the parents or other elders in most cases. Boys are married generally after they are sixteen years of age. The bride need not necessarily be younger than the bridegroom. Exchange of daughters is recognised but discouraged on account of the superstition that one of the married couple meets with bad luck. It is common to take more than one wife; but there is no trace of polyandry and the idea strikes these men as revolting. Family descent is traced through males. Marriage is prohibited between two agnate cousins however remote their relationship may be. With regard to the other relations for marriage, there is no peculiarity in the caste. Two sisters may be taken as wives either simultaneously or at different times by a person or by two brothers. Marriage.

A girl is married generally not later than twelve. If the girl is already of the proper age, she begins to live with her husband after the lapse of the first Gauri festival after marriage. If the girl is yet too young, they wait till she attains her age of puberty before consummating the marriage. A woman is not compelled to marry at any cost. If she chooses to remain single, she need not undergo any mock marriage with trees or swords, or dedicate herself to any god.

If the stars corresponding to the names of the parties agree, a day is fixed and the boy's party with some married women come to the girl's house with coconuts, plantains, betel leaves and nuts and turmeric and *kunkuma* powder. The castemen are invited to be present, but the headman of the caste and the Ganāchari (ಗಣಾಚಾರಿ) need not be there necessarily. The foreman in the assembly moots the subject, and the maternal uncle of the girl gives the Marriage Ceremonies.

consent. This is said to be due to the preferential right the maternal uncle himself has to the hand of the girl. If a marriage is performed without such consent, a *panchdyati* is held on his complaint in the presence of the caste headman and the *Ganáchari*, and the delinquent is fined. Such cases are however rare. When the maternal uncle gives his consent, the promise between the contracting parties is ratified by the exchange of betel leaves and nuts and by the utterance of the words "The girl is ours, the boy is yours" or "The boy is ours and the girl is yours" on each side. The articles brought are then presented to the girl by her mother and relatives, and the day ends with a feast known as *Parupusádam* (ಪರುಪುಸಾದಂ or dhal and rice), as meat is not cooked on such occasions.

This ceremony binds the party of the girl to fulfil its contract, and a breach of it is met by a heavy fine imposed by the caste independently of any damage that may be recovered by action at law. On the night of this day the boy's relatives remain in the bride's house; and if any bad dreams occur, they would be considered as ill omens requiring the engagement to be broken off. Indeed they attach so much importance to omens, that after they reach home the next morning, they send information to the bride's house that no serpent crossed them on the way, and that while they were talking about the matter they did not hear any pots cracking or cats quarrelling.

The ceremony of marriage takes place in the bridegroom's house and lasts four days.

On the first day styled *Modularisina* (ಮೊದಲನಿನ, first turmeric), the boy's party with the usual accompaniments of fruits and two rupees in cash called *Madupu* (ಮದಪು earnest) go to the girl's house, where the *Gauda* and the *Ganáchári* will be awaiting their arrival, and these have to assure themselves that the correct amount of money is brought and then permit the other presents to be received. The girl is seated on a plank and presented with the articles; she is attired in the new clothes supplied by the bridegroom and then prostrates herself before the head of the *caseta*.

The pandal is erected on the second day. It is supported by twelve posts of which one is of *Kalli* plant, being styled the milk post and said to be for ensuring continuity of the line. The milk post must be cut by either the maternal uncle of the girl or the girl's paternal aunt's son. In

their absence the *kólkar* or the beadle cuts the tree and brings it. It is wrapped round with a washed cloth dyed with turmeric; a *kankana* with a package containing nine kinds of grain (ನವಧಾನ್ಯ) and a few coins, is tied round it; and it is planted in the middle of the pandal.

The bridegroom is brought in and besmeared with turmeric. In the evening the bride's party with the bride reach the village and halt at a temple. The bridegroom's party meet them there, and entertain them with drink.

Then the bridegroom's and the bride's parties together go out in a procession to get the vessels for the marriage known as *Airané* (ಐರನೆ) from the priest's house at which the vessels have been kept decorated with drawings of chunam and red earth. The priest is paid one *hana* (4 As. 8 p.) and the pots are taken to the marriage pandal and installed in a part of the house. Lamps are lighted with oil and wicks placed in earthen saucers brought with these vessels. They have to burn continuously during the remaining period of the marriage and it is considered a bad omen if they are allowed to go out.

The chief ceremony called *Muhúrta* takes place on the third day. The bride is smeared with turmeric powder by the bridegroom's party and the bridegroom by the bride's party, and a rice flour cake is waved before each to ward off the evil eye. The bridegroom gets shaved either really or nominally and the bride gets her nails pared. Then they bathe and dress themselves in their marriage attire. The bridegroom paints his forehead with a golden streak while the bride puts on a latitudinal red line of vermilion. The bridegroom goes to the temple with married ladies in a procession, in front of which his sister carries a box containing the presents to the bride. In the temple, after offering cocoanuts to the idol, the bridegroom is invested with a sacred string by the priest and then he and the bride sit on the marriage seat of planks. The *kólkar* ties the *kankana* to the pair. The various office-bearers of the caste and others present are given *tambúla*, and they all return to the marriage pandal.

The pair then knot together the little fingers of their right hands, over which their parents pour *Dhadré* (i.e., pour milk) in small quantities through a funnel of betel-leaf held by the bridal pair. Garlands worn by them are then exchanged by the bride and bridegroom. After this

they both go to prostrate themselves before the sacred pots set up for *púja*. On their way the bridegroom's sisters bars the passage till he utters the name of his wife. He refuses and tries to get off by a promise of giving her a cow or some jewel or the first-born daughter in marriage to her son. Then follows the ceremony of thrusting the hand into a quantity of salt in a vessel.

On the fourth day the couple are taken in a procession to an ant-hill and earth is brought thence to make into balls and deposit them near the posts supporting the pandal. The posts are painted with the paste of red earth by the bride and bridegroom. The bridegroom hands over the balls of earth to the bride who keeps them one by one at each pillar. Then they both go in a procession to a well with married women who carry the sacred pots called "*Airane*." The vessels are emptied of their contents in the well and are worshipped once more. In the meanwhile the bridegroom turns up some soil with a spade or a small plough, while the bride sows some paddy, or sometimes all the nine kinds of grain. A mock conversation goes on between the husband and the wife. The wife says "Husband, you seem to be tired after hard ploughing, take some food," and offers him food. The husband accepts but does not eat. Then the whole party turn back to the pandal, which is then dismantled.

*Tera*.

The bride price or *tera* is one rupee and a half.

Puberty.

There is no peculiarity in the ceremonies when a girl attains puberty except that the headman of the caste and others attend on the last day thereof. There is no regular ceremony for the consummation of marriage. The bridegroom or his parents present the bride with a new cloth, fruits, a *pán-supári* bag and betel leaves and nuts in the presence of the elders of the caste. After two meals are over, the party of the husband take the girl to her husband in his house and the two can thenceforward live as husband and wife. It is stated that the bridegroom need not attend these feasts.

Remarriage

Marriage of widows is allowed, though as a matter of sentiment, they prefer a maid to a widow or a divorced woman for marrying. There is no rule that a particular number of days should intervene between the death of the husband and the remarriage, which, however, cannot take place during the first ten days after his death. Remarriage takes place in the widow's house. The headman,

his beadle and other castemen are invited. Married women, though they attend, do not take part in the ceremonies. The bride is helped by widows and marriage has to take place in the evenings only. The husband presents a *tāḍi* of gold and a new cloth to her. A widow is not allowed to marry her deceased husband's brother. But she may marry as many times as she chooses without thereby subjecting herself to any censure.

The *tera* is the same as for a virgin woman.

A woman may be divorced for adultery or for reasons such as want of harmony in the married life, in which latter case the parties may separate by common consent. When a woman has left her husband by divorce obtained from mere whim, she has to pay back his marriage expenses. An impotent husband can be divorced by his wife returning the *tāḍi* to him, and the woman can remarry after paying a fine of Rs. 3 given to the caste. If such a man does not consent to the dissolution, she has only to return her *tāḍi* to the Gaúḍa and Gaṇāchari in a caste assembly, after which she ceases to be his wife. Divorce.

A woman loses her caste if she misbehaves with any person of a different caste. A man may with impunity consort with any woman except that of a *panchama* caste, and the issue of such connections are nevertheless Tigalas. Adultery is compoundable by the payment of a small fine to the caste. In cases of adultery within the caste, a woman is merely chastised by her husband but does not lose her caste, in case she pays a small fine to the community. If a woman is turned out by her husband on account of adultery, the man who seduced her may keep her as his wife, paying a small fine to the husband. Sexual license is condoned if the girl marries the man subsequently, but the marriage is celebrated only in the inferior form of *kūḍike*. Adultery.

There is no trace of marriage by capture from other tribes.

When a man dies, his body is carried on a frame of *kaḷli* or bamboo, the pieces tied together with a rope of twisted straw. The body soon after being placed on the frame, is washed with warm water, anointed and cleaned with soap-nut. Dāsaiyyas come and repeat *Tirumantra* (திருமந்திரம்). The body is then taken to the burial ground Death ceremonies.



the mourners accompanying it with the beating of drums and cymbals. There a stone is installed to represent Harischandra and worshipped. Then those that are the votaries of Siva place dishes of rice and water for the spirit. In the fringe of the cloth wrapped round the body, some rice is tied up apparently meant for the use of the spirit while on its way to the next world. When the body is lowered into the grave, some ashes are thrown over it, and the Gauḍa and Gaṇāchari each throw a handful of rice and then a shovel of earth over it. The body is then duly buried and two pies are placed over a corner of the grave, which the tōṭi or village watchman takes for himself, after touching the four corners of the grave with cakes of cowdung.

At the spot in the house where the person died, rice and water are kept for the spirit. As the principal mourner enters the house while returning from the place of sepulture, he rolls the vessel he has carried in his hand at the threshold and prostrates himself before the Gauḍa and Gaṇāchari, who offer their condolences.

On the 3rd, 5th and 12th days, they give food and water to the departed spirit. On the 12th day, the priest and the elders of the caste go to a tank and perform purificatory ceremonies. The principal mourner gets a shave. He fixes a stick in the earth to represent the dead soul, and funeral ceremonies are performed under the direction of a Brahman priest. Then the whole party go to a temple to get the doors of heaven opened for the departed soul.

The period of *Sūtaka* (mourning) is twelve days for the death of adult persons and three days for that of children. The Vaishnavas observe five days for children.

During the first year they perform monthly ceremonies to propitiate the dead. In succeeding years the whole body of deceased ancestors are worshipped on the new-year's-day and the Mahālaya new-moon day.

Social  
habits.

Tigalas are persons of settled habits. They have divided themselves into sections by the tracts of country inhabited by them, each section called a *Kaṭṭemane* (ಕಟ್ಟಮನೆ) being under the jurisdiction of a headman or Gauda with a council of elders. The different *Kaṭṭemanes* are named after

some important place such as Tumkur, Kunigal, Turuvekere, Kadaba, etc.

Persons from any higher caste may be admitted into the Tigala caste, but in the matter of eating together and marriage, the older members do not easily reconcile themselves to join these new men, till in course of time their origin is forgotten. A child of a mixed marriage is considered inferior in caste status to one having both parents Tigalas.

They follow the Hindu law of inheritance

Inheritance

They are agriculturists, specially skilled as kitchen and flower gardeners. A minority among them are Government servants and coolies receiving daily wages. They are well known for their economy and hard work, and are unrivalled for the careful cultivation of fruit gardens.

Occupation.

They eat animal food and are allowed a pretty wide range, there being no objection to pigs, fowls of all sorts, fish, tortoise and large species of lizards. Kuruba is the lowest caste with which they eat, while he in return eats with them.

Food.

There are both Saivas and Vaishnavas in the caste, and they worship all the Hindu gods, only regarding either Siva or Vishnu as their family god. They worship all the minor gods such as Máramma, Marigamma, Munívara, Kollápuramma, Yellamma and Siddédévaru. During marriages they do *Púja* in the name of Agni Vanhi Ráya, their progenitor, burning frankincense. Women worship Gangamma during the prevalence of any epidemic disease in order to escape an attack. They go to a tank or well, worship the water with saffron, break a cocoanut and offer a new cloth in the name of Gangamma and wear it afterwards. Stones carved with the image of serpents are worshipped. On the festival of Gauri, cocoanuts and flowers are offered.

Religion.

The distinctive tribal festival is that of Karaga, (ಕರಗ), which is celebrated with great zeal and ceremony once every year in the month of *Chaitra* and lasts nine days. The functionary called the Ganáchári is the grand master of ceremonies for it, whose directions on all matters are to be scrupulously observed. During the whole period, he has to keep himself pure, bathing in cold water either in his own house or some tank outside, and

taking only one meal a day, which his wife has prepared in *maḍi* (washed state). The *Pūjāri* conducts the worship. He also bathes regularly and has to live on fruits or other uncooked food during the period. On the first day he has his head and face shaved clean and dresses himself in the fashion of females with clothes dipped yellow in turmeric. He wears bangles and a *kankana* or wrist thread made of woollen yarn and turmeric root. When the *Pūjāri* goes to the well to bring the vessels on the seventh night, his wife takes off her bangles and *tāli*. In fact, she is considered a widow during the whole period of this festival. In addition to the *Gaṇāchāri* and the *Pūjāri*, there are others taking part in the celebrations who are known as *Komāramakkalu* (ಕೊಮ್ಮಾರ ಮಕ್ಕಳು, i.e., young children) over a hundred in number. These have to bathe and observe fasts and be strict in the matter of meals. Their food is to be prepared by their wives only, who before the commencement of the festival subject themselves to a purificatory ceremony by having their tongues touched with a burning turmeric root and by drinking *tīrtha* or holy water. All these, men and women, keep aloof from other persons during this period, so as to preserve their holy state. If any of the women has the monthly sickness in the interval, she remains outside for three days till she bathes, and the husband has to cook his food:

On each day of the festival, the *Gaṇāchāri*, the *Pūjāri* and *Komāramakkalu* take *Chatra*, (umbrella), *bhaṇḍārada petṭige* (ಭಂಡಾರದ ಪೆಟ್ಟಿಗೆ), i.e., a casket containing turmeric powder, a whip, bell, seal, etc., to a well, and wash themselves and the things. Each of the *Komāramakkalu* offer *Namaskāra* prostrating themselves before the *Gaṇāchāri* and *Pūjāri* and receive their blessings. Then the procession returns attended with a band of musicians. Each *Komāramaga* \* carries his sword with him, waving it occasionally in the air. In the temple of *Dharmarāya* the idol is enthroned and the washed things are brought in and deposited in the inner sanctuary. The assembly disperses after *pūja*.

On the day the idol is enthroned or some subsequent day the ceremony known as *gāvaṇṇa* (ಗಾವನ್ನ) takes place. The *pujari* cooks ten seers of rice in the precincts of the temple and offers it to the idol, the rice being coloured

\* *Komāramaga* (ಕೊಮ್ಮಾರಮಗ) is the singular form of *Komāramakkalu* (ಕೊಮ್ಮಾರಮಕ್ಕಳು) in Kannada.

yellow with turmeric powder and scattered about in the four directions for the deities presiding over the four quarters.

On the 7th night takes place the most important ceremony, the bringing of the Karaga. Then the potter (*Kumbhāra*) observing a fast the whole day prepares an earthen vessel and takes it unburnt to a well and keeps it there at night. A procession from the temple consisting of Gaṇāchāri, Pújāri, Komāramakkaḷu, Gauḍa, Yajamān and the caste people goes to the well and returns to the temple with this pot.

After the vessel is brought from the well, a Brahman Puróhit is invited and a grand worship is conducted by him till about 4 o'clock in the morning of the next day. One or two maunds of camphor are burnt in the course of the night. The Karaga pot is decorated with flowers, and wrapped in a cloth dyed yellow with turmeric; and its mouth is closed with a bamboo basket inverted on it. The Pújāri, the Gaṇāchāri and Puróhit offer *pūja* to the Karaga, screening it from the view of the public. The Pújāri then takes the Karaga into his hands and keeps it on a platform. The Komāramakkaḷu beat their chests with the blunt ends of their swords before it. It is said that when times were better, they used to cut themselves with the sharp edge without being injured. The Pújāri carries the Karaga on his head and the Komāramakkaḷu arrange themselves round him with their swords drawn as if ready to kill him if he dropped the Karaga down, the penalty being required to ward off evil to the whole tribe from such a mishap. The procession goes round the city and on its return to the temple, the carrier goes round the car and the temple more than half a dozen times. The Karaga is finally installed in the temple and worshipped once again.

On the 8th night it remains in the temple with the usual *pūja* conducted in grand style.

They do not employ Brahmans for the conduct of ordinary ceremonies, though they have a guru who is a Vaishṇava Brahman. He occasionally visits them and offers them *tirtha* and *prasāda* and receives some money as fees.

According to Buchanan, the gods peculiar to the Pa is are Mannárswāmi and Páchamma said to be his

mother. But no sacrifices are given to them but only to their attendant *muntis* who are all males. In the yard belonging to the temple, a great many figures in potter's work which represent horses and elephants are to be found which are supposed to be the attendants of the gods. These figures are set up as offerings after recovery from any illness supposed to have emanated from the influence of the deity. Pallis frequently offer sacrifices to Paṭālama, Máramma and other saktis and worship both Siva and Viṣṇu. \*

Tigalas believe in omens and oracles.

Caste organization.

Tigalas have a well defined caste organization. They have a Gauḍa (ಗೌಡ) as their head, and one learned in their caste and religious beliefs, styled Gaṇāchāri as next to him. The Pújāri of the temple of Dharmarāya is the latter's deputy, and they have a Yajmán besides. The Gauḍa, the elders of the caste and Yajmán form an ordinary caste council, while Gaṇāchāri and the Pújāri form additional members of the caste council at head-quarters. The decision of an ordinary caste council is not final as an appeal is open to the larger council at the head-quarters of the *kaṭṭemane*. Those who do not abide by the decisions of these councils are deemed to be outside the pale of the caste. But in cases pertaining to divorce, settlement of minor disputes about boundaries of land and rights of inheritance, the decisions are not binding in this sense. Penalties imposed in such councils are utilised for the purposes of temples and annual caste festivals.

It may be noted that in the absence of the Gauḍa in council, the Gaṇāchāri is entitled to take his place and exercise his privilege of giving the casting vote.

(Preliminary Issue.)

**The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

---

**X.**

**SALE CASTE.**

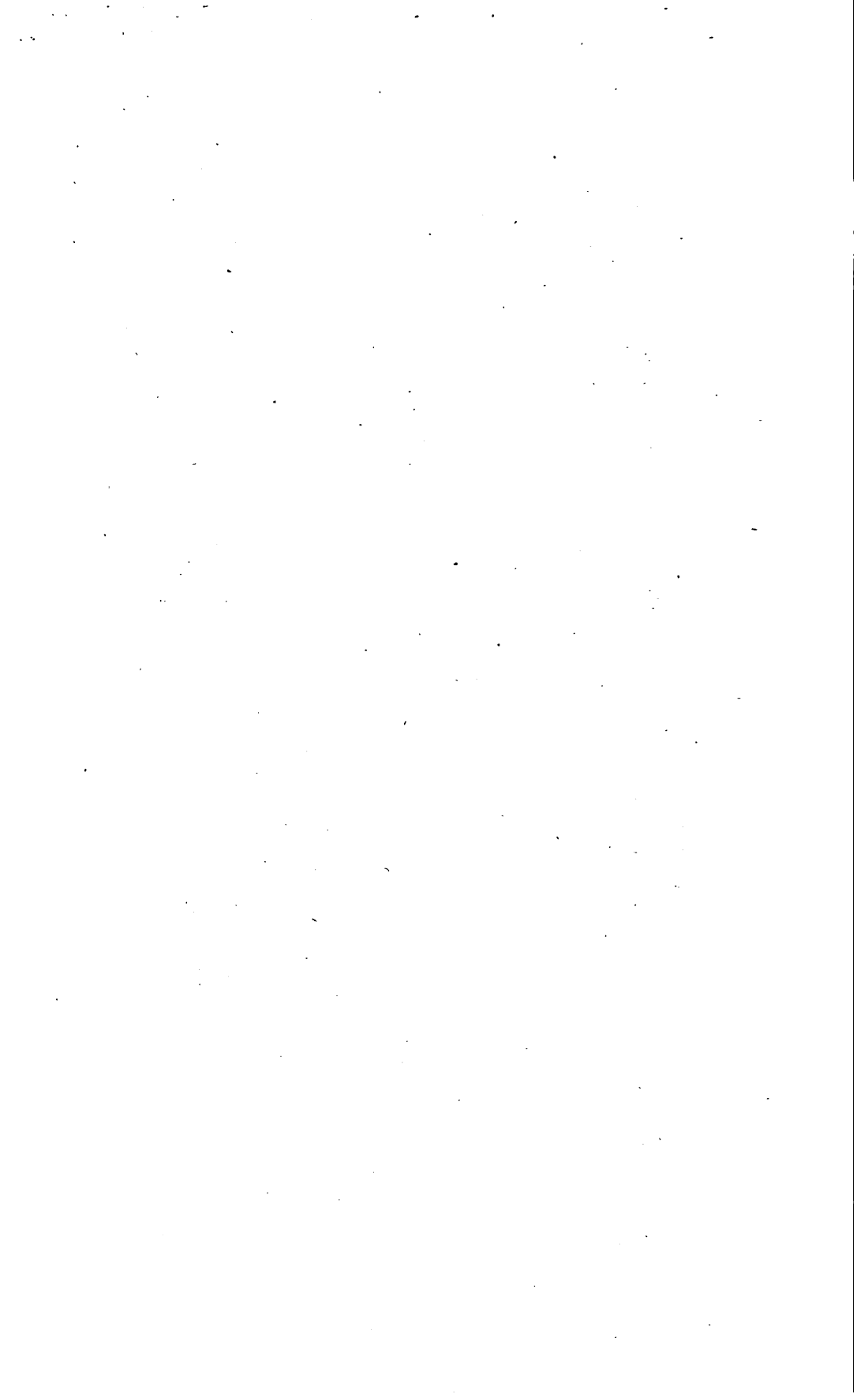
BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

---

BANGALORE:  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS.  
1907.

*Price 4 Annas.*



(Preliminary Issue.)

**The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

---

**X.**

**SALE CASTE.**

BY

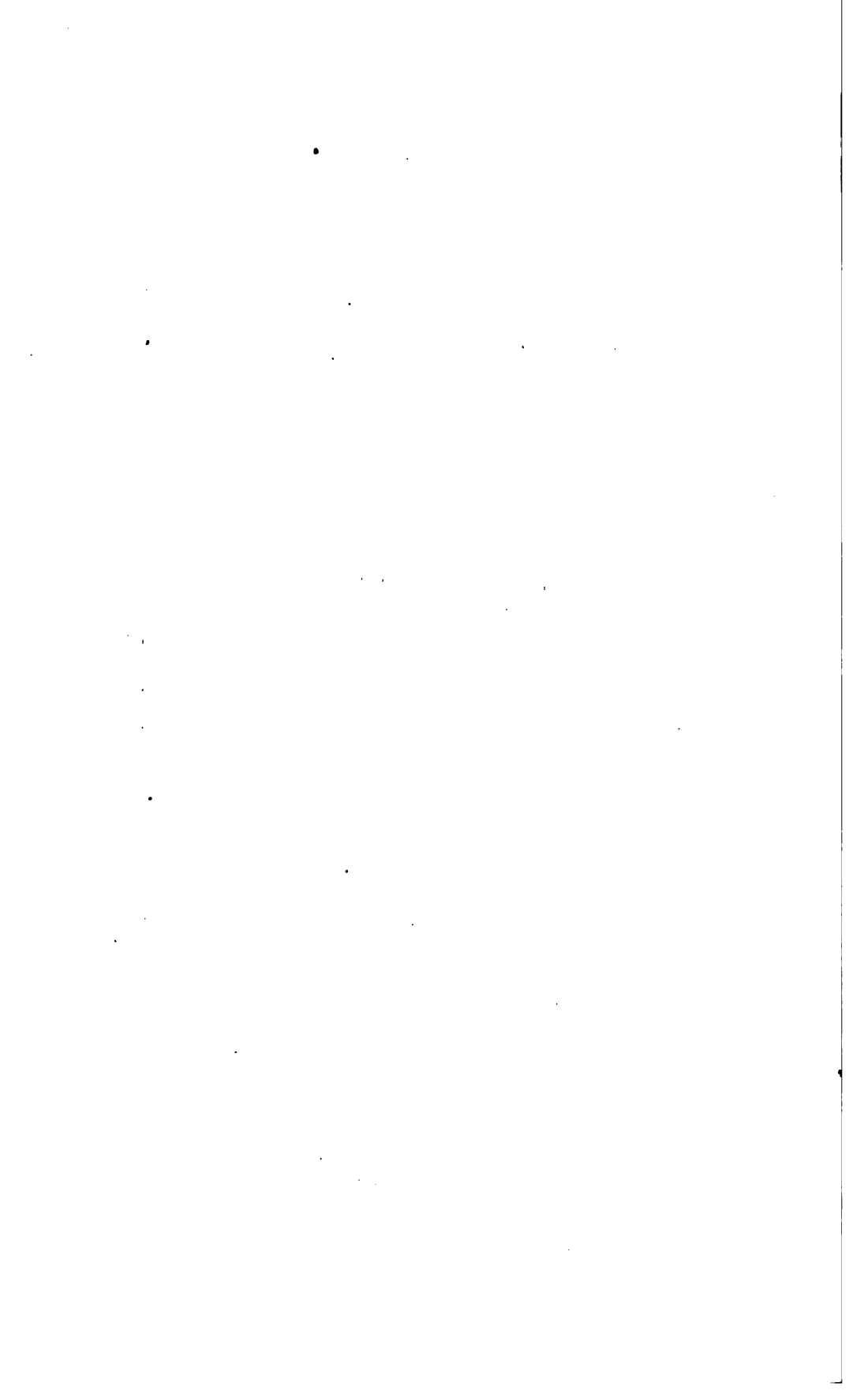
**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

---

BANGALORE  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS.  
1907.

*Price 4 Annas.*



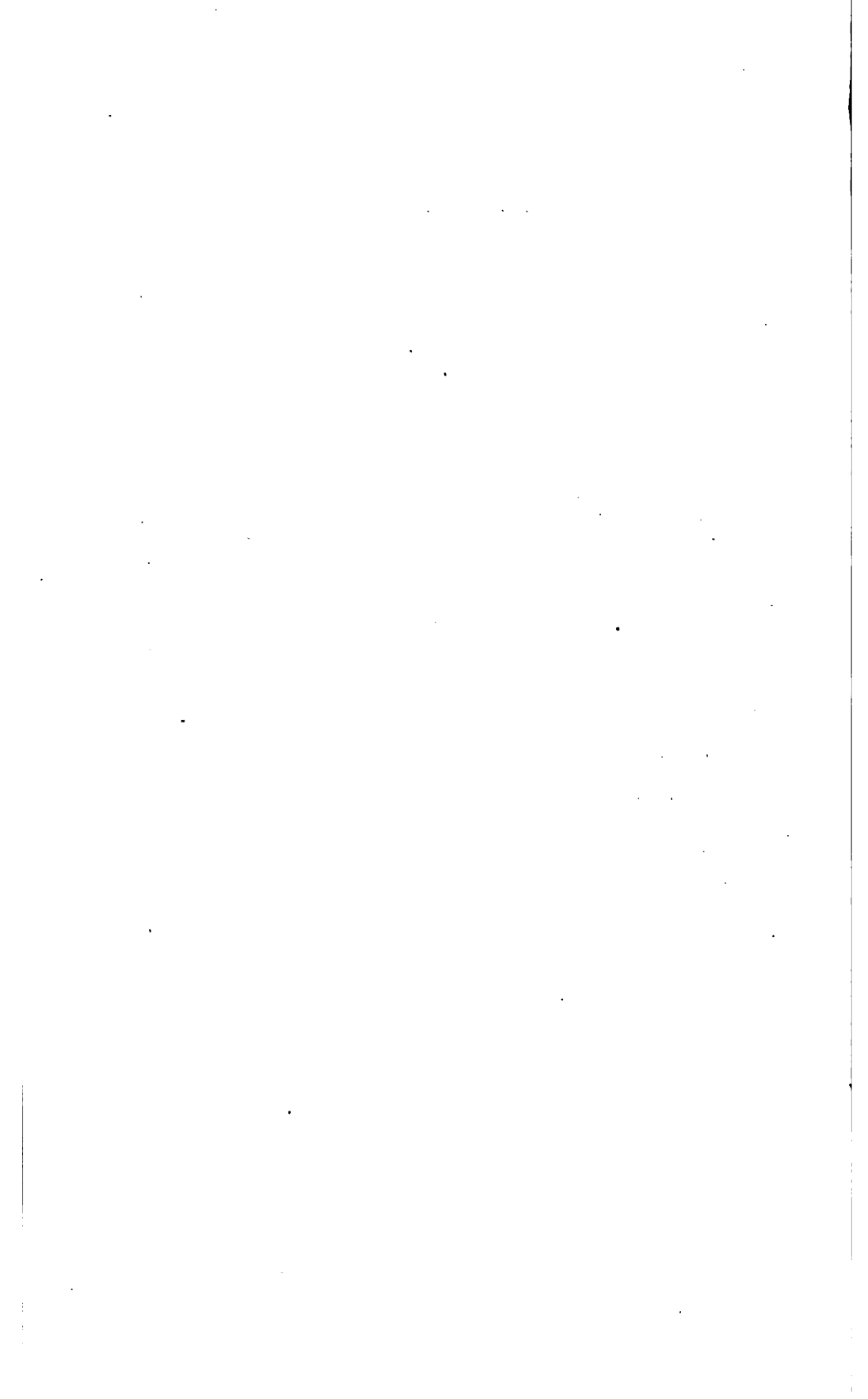


## CONTENTS.

---

	PAGE.
Name and origin ... ..	1
Language ... ..	2
Divisions ... ..	2
Birth ceremonies ... ..	3
Adoption ... ..	4
Marriage ... ..	4
Puberty ... ..	6
Widow marriage and divorce ... ..	6
Adultery ... ..	6
Death ceremonies ... ..	6
General characteristics ... ..	7
Inheritance ... ..	7
Religion ... ..	7
Appendix ... ..	8—14

---



## SÁLE.

Sále (ಸಾಲೆ) is a general term applied to a group of castes who are connected with weaving as their profession. It comes from the Sanskrit *Sálīka* (weaver) and its Kannaḍa equivalent is *Néyige* (ನೇಯಿಗಿ), which name is sometimes applied to them. The term *Setti* is used as a title besides the usual honorific terms of *Appa* (ಅಪ್ಪ) and *Ayya* (ಅಯ್ಯ) for males and *Ammā* (ಅಮ್ಮ) and *Akka* (ಅಕ್ಕ) for females. Some learned in the rules guiding their society have recently adopted the title of *Sāstri* (ಸಾಸ್ತ್ರಿ), that is, learned in the *Sāstras*, but this is by no means common.

To account for their origin it is given out that in order to clothe the nakedness of people in the world, Siva commissioned Markandeya to perform a sacrifice, and one Bhāvāna Rishi came out of the holy fire, holding a lotus flower (*padma* ಪದ್ಮ) in his hand. He married two wives Prasannāvatī and Bhadrāvatī, daughters of Sūrya (the Sun) and had a hundred and one sons, who all took to weaving cloth out of the fibre of the lotus flower for men to wear, and became the progenitors of the one hundred and one gótras of this caste. God Surya being pleased with what they did gave them a fifth Veda called *Padma Véda* (ಪದ್ಮವೇದ); and so men of this caste give out that they belong to *Padma Sākha* and *Markandéya Sūtra*, analogous to the *sakhas*, *sutras* and *gotras* of the *Brahmans*.

They profess to have been following all the religious rites prescribed for *Brahmans*, till in the beginning of the *Kali* age, one of their caste named *Padmaksha* declined to reveal the virtues of a miraculous gem which *Brahma* had given to their caste, to *Ganapati* who sought to learn the secret which they had been enjoined to keep, and who on his wish not being gratified cursed them to fall from their high status. It is said however that one *Parabrahmamūrti* born in *Srīráma Agrahara* pleased *Ganapati* by his *tapas*,

and got the curse removed, so that after 5000 years of the kali-yuga, they should regain their lost position. This Parabrahmamūrti otherwise known as Padmabhavācharyā, it is said, redistributed the caste into ninety-six gotras arranged in eight groups, and established four Mathās with gurus for them.

The age and origin of this story cannot be ascertained. It may have been meant to explain the name Padmasāle given to them; and many of these castes have been busy since the advent of the Census in discovering their long-lost pedigrees.\*

They have a tradition which says that they emigrated from Vijayanagar territory, in particular from Hampe, the head-quarters of that empire, during the time of Kempe Gauḍa.

Language

Persons of the Padmasāle section speak Telugu and those of Pattusāle and Sakunasāle speak Kannada. Such of them, however, as, live in the purely Telugu or the purely Kannada parts of the State speak the language prevalent therein.

Divisions.

In this category are included a number of tribes who eat with one another but are not allowed to intermarry. They form a population numbering 11,000. The principal of them are:—

<i>Padmasāle</i>	..	(ಪದ್ಮಸಾಲೆ)
<i>Pattusāle</i> ( <i>silk</i> )	..	(ಪಟ್ಟುಸಾಲೆ)
<i>Sakunasāle</i>	..	(ಕಕುನಸಾಲೆ)

The origin of these sub-divisions is not clear. All of them have a common tradition concerning their descent from Markandéya, the weaver of the gods. Bhāvāna Rishi is believed to be the man who invented weaving. *Padmasāle* is the most important division. *Pattusāle*, corrupted into *Padusāle*, are the people who weave silk cloths. Most of them have been converted into Lingayatism. The *Sakunasāles* seem to be later immigrants, and the meaning of the term is not known.

\* Mr. Stuart has the following note as regards the origin of the caste:—“They claim to be the descendants of the sage named Mrikanda, the weaver of the gods. Their original house appears to have been the Andhra country from whence a section of the Saliyas was invited by the Chōla king, Rajaraja I., after the union of the Eastern Chalukya and Chola dynasties”. Census Report of Madras for 1891, p. 285.

The Lingayats of this community say that "the whole *Sále* formerly wore the *Linga*; but a house having been possessed by a devil, and this sect having been called upon to cast him out, all their prayers were of no avail. At length ten persons, having thrown aside the *Linga* and offered up their supplications to Vishnu, they succeeded in expelling the enemy; and ever afterwards followed the worship of this god, in which they have been imitated by many of their brethern."\* The men that so separated themselves are said to be *Padmasáles*. It is however more likely that the Lingayats are the persons that separated from the main body.

The caste is further divided into a number of exogamous divisions, denoted by family names, with which are associated also the names of some Kishis. There are a hundred and one of such different families; some bear names of familiar objects, but it is difficult to find out the signification of many names. A list of the family names is given in the appendix.

There are no hypergamous divisions in the caste.

When the wife is pregnant, the husband is not allowed to carry a dead body or to take part in building a house. The ceremonies observed after birth are the same as in other castes of similar standing. The Lingayats invite the Jangama priest to tie a *Linga* to the child. On the sixth day, a spot in the house is washed with cow-dung, and an eight-sided figure is drawn on it with *Vibhúti* powder, at each corner of which a *támbúla* and *dakshane* are kept. The father of the child then worships a *Linga*, washing it with sugar, honey, milk and ghee. The Jangama repeats *mantras*. A *Linga* is then tied to the child's arm, with a thread composed of one hundred and eight lines twisted together. Then the priest touches the child with the toe of his right foot and hands it over to the mother.

Birth ceremonies.

Among the other sections of the caste, the child and the mother are bathed on the eleventh day, and a caste dinner is given and in the night married women are invited, who put the child in the cradle after *púja* to a *Pillári* (cow-dung cone) meant to represent God Ganésa. A round stone is first put into the cradle and rocked to

---

\* Buchanan's Journey through Mysore, Vol. I., p. 178.

the tune of songs; it is then removed and the child is put into the cradle.\*

The Lingayats generally give names after Siva, while the non-Lingayat portion adopt the names of both Vishnu and Siva. As in other castes, the names of the deceased ancestors of the family are adopted and in villages, the consulting of a soothsayer for suggesting an appropriate name is not uncommon.

#### Adoption.

Adoption is practised. The adopted boy must come from the same *gōtra* as the adoptive father's. A sister's son cannot be adopted. The boy taken in adoption is prohibited from marrying in the exogamous division of both the families. A boy cannot be adopted after he has married. The ceremony observed is that the natural parents hand over the boy to the adopting parents formally before an assembly of the castemen, after previously taking off his waist thread. Generally he is given a new name. A general dinner is then given, and the natural parents are presented with some clothes by the adoptive father.

#### Marriage.

Marriages are generally infant, but adult marriages may take place. No sort of penalty is imposed if the girl is not married before the age of puberty. They have no system of marrying their girls to swords, trees or dedicating them to temples.

Girls are married generally between ten and twelve years of age. There seems to be no serious harm if a woman remains unmarried all her life, but it appears that such a case has not been actually heard of.

After marriage, the girl remains with her parents until the marriage is consummated after puberty. The consummation of marriage may take place any day within sixteen days after the first signs of puberty. But if it is postponed, they have to select some auspicious day according to the positions of the stars. Marriages are arranged for and brought about by the parents of the parties or other elders. Exchange of daughters is permitted, but it is not popular owing to the belief that one couple prospers while the other fails. Polygamous marriages are allowed but monogamy is the rule. Polyandry is unknown.

---

\* The idea of introducing a stone as a child in such ceremonies seems to be to symbolise a wish that the real child should be as strong and as long-lived as such an object.

As regards the selection of brides, they choose by preference either an elder sister's or a paternal uncle's or a maternal uncle's daughter. Padmasáles do not marry their younger sister's daughter. The rest of the sub-divisions have no such restriction. A man may marry two sisters at different times, and it is said that a wife's sister cannot be married when the wife is alive. Two brothers may take in marriage two sisters, the elder marrying the elder, the younger the younger sister.

Some days, it may be months, before a marriage, the preliminary agreement called *Vakkaku Sástra* (the ceremony of betel-nuts) takes place, in the presence of the village elders. The bridegroom's father goes to the bride's house and expresses his desire to take the girl in marriage for his son, and they exchange *tambúlas* as a token of consent, and the village officers, the astrologer and others assembled are given *tambúlas* as witnesses.

It is said that the promise so made is irrevocable and its breaking entails the displeasure of the caste people, who impose a fine in consequence. But the occurrence of an ill omen or other event supposed to be token divine disapproval is regarded as a sufficient excuse for breaking it, and the other party can only ask to be compensated for any loss sustained.

The marriage ceremonies last for four days. The first day is known as God's feast or entertainment in honor of ancestors, analogous to *Nāndi-Srāddha* among Brahmans. In the evening of that day, a marriage pandal is set up with either a *Párvatā* (ಪಾರ್ವತೀ) or a *Ragimānu* (ರಾಗಿಮಾನು peepul tree) branch, for the *milkpost*. This twig has to be brought by the maternal uncle of the girl who gets a present of a *hana* (4 As. 8 p.) for his trouble.

On the second day, the bridegroom puts on the sacred thread before the marriage proper. The ceremonies observed this day are the same as in other castes. Among some Sáles, the bridegroom, leaves the house feigning anger and sits in a temple. A procession, from the bride's house with a mock bride, a boy disguised as a bride, goes to him and brings him to the marriage pandal, after which the other ceremonies take place. A Brahman Purohit or a Jangama repeats some lucky verses (ಮಂತ್ರಾದ್ಯುಕ್ತಗಳು), and makes the bridegroom tie the *táli* to the bride. Then *dhāre* and the *kaukaṇṇa*-tying take place. The couple retire into the house holding each other by the hand and going round the milk



post. They have a general dinner for the caste, and the couple sit to eat out of a common plate (*bhúma*, ಬೊಮ). The tying of the *táli* to the bride by the bridegroom and the pouring of milk into the closed hands of the bride and bridegroom by the priest and the elders of the caste are the essential portions of the ceremony.

The last day called *Nāgavali* (ನಾಗವಲಿ) is dedicated to the worship of the ant-hill and the carrying of earth therefrom, and the removal of the marriage pandal.

The presence of a Brahman priest is not indispensable but in most cases he is called in to offer certain invocations at the time. The bride price in this caste is Rs. 25. A widower is not required to pay anything higher for his second marriage.

#### Puberty.

When a girl attains puberty she is considered impure for three days and is kept in a shed of green leaves. In the evening the usual congregations of the married women are held and the distribution to them of turmeric, kun-kuma and *pansupari* takes place. The girl is bathed on the fourth day and is admitted into the house. From the sixth day, the relatives of the girl including the parents of her husband give her presents doing what is known as *Osigé* (ಒಸಿಗೆ) to her. If the girl is already married, the consummation of the marriage takes place if possible before the 16th day; but in the case of girls who are married after puberty, some time is allowed to elapse before the consummation comes off.

#### Widow marriage and divorce.

Widow marriage is not allowed. A wife guilty of adultery may be divorced, but divorced woman cannot remarry.

#### Adultery.

Adultery is looked upon with severity but is compoundable with a fine levied upon the culprits. Part of the fine goes towards the worship of their patron deity.

Sexual license before marriage is not tolerated and subsequent marriage with a lover though of the same caste is not recognized as condoning such fault. They have no traditions regarding capture of wives from other tribes.

#### Death ceremonies.

They bury the dead with the head turned towards the South. During *Sutaka* (pollution) for the dead, they abstain from sweets and milk; and do not perform any auspicious ceremonies or take part in festive or other social gather-

ings. The Lingayat Sâles carry dead bodies in a *vimâna* (ವಿಮಾನ) and bury it in a sitting posture. They observe no pollution. But among the non-Lingayat Sâles the agnates observe pollution for 12 days for the death of adults, three days for the death of children and of a daughter's son. They do not perform *Kâlasrâtha*, but on the Mahalaya day, they give presents to Brahmans of uncooked provisions with some money known as *ede* (ಎಡೆ) and they offer *tarpaṇa* (libations) of water to the deceased ancestors.

They do not take outsiders into their caste.

They profess to be vegetarian in food and to eschew spirituous liquors, but it is not unusual for them to indulge in both with the connivance of their fellow castemen. Their chief profession is weaving with the allied one of dyeing. Many are also merchants, jewellers, carpenters or other skilled artisans. A very few follow agriculture. The learned professions are hardly represented among them though many of them know how to read and write.

General  
character-  
istics.

The members of the caste follow the Hindu Law of inheritance. The decisions of their tribal councils in the matter of property are respected but are not binding. They have no trials by ordeal; an oath taken in a temple is of course considered to be a greater safeguard than usual that the witness is speaking the truth.

The caste contains worshippers of both Siva and Vishnu who are to be distinguished by the different marks on the forehead. The goddess of their special cult is Chaudesvari, which is a sylvan deity located in groves. They also worship all the village gods. There is nothing peculiar with them regarding the worship of the inanimate objects and in the superstitious beliefs regarding the spirits surviving death and their powers for good and evil over human beings.

Religion

Their belief in sorcery, oracles, etc., is similar to those of Komatis and other tribes.

## APPENDIX.

Family name.	Epouymous hero or Guru.	Meaning of term.
<i>Bāpu</i> (ಬಾಪು)	Purisha Rishi (ಪುರುಷಯುಷಿ)	
<i>Battini</i> (ಬತ್ತಿನಿ)	Suka (ಸುಕ)	
<i>Bandi</i> (ಬಂದಿ)	Twashtru (ತ್ವಷ್ಠ್ರ)	Cart
<i>Bussa</i> (ಬುಸ್ಸ)	Mrikandeya (ಮೃಕಂದೇಯ)	
<i>Bandara</i> (ಬಂಡಾರ)	Vidhu (ವಿಧು)	
<i>Bāku</i> (ಬಾಕು)	Saunaka (ಸೌನಕ)	Dagger
<i>Bódā</i> (ಬೋಡಾ)	Mánasvi (ಮಾನಸ್ಯ)	
<i>Bajja</i> (ಬಜ್ಜ)	Sindhu (ಸಿಂಧು)	
<i>Balabhadrā</i> (ಬಲಭದ್ರ)	Pāchvin (ಪಾಚ್ವಿನ್)	
<i>Bhéri</i> (ಭೇರಿ)	Jhareela (ಜ್ಹಾರೀಲ)	Drum
<i>Betta</i> (ಬೆಟ್ಟ)	Vakava (ವಕವ)	Mountain
<i>Bhōga</i> (ಭೋಗ)	Rishidhara (ರಿಷಿದ್ಧರ)	
<i>Byramuri</i> (ಬೈರಮೂರಿ)	Pranchiva (ಪ್ರಾಂಚಿವ)	
<i>Bhīma</i> (ಭೀಮ)	Vrisha (ವೃಷ)	
<i>Bandāri</i> (ಬಂಡಾರ)	Ambarīsha (ಅಂಬರೀಷ)	Temple servant
<i>Charugu</i> (ಚಾರುಗು)	Narada (ನಾರದ)	Hem of the garment

Family name.	Eponymous hero or Guru.	Meaning of term.
<i>Chakka</i> (ಚಕ್ರ)	Válakhilya (ವಾಲಖಿಲ್ಯ)	Bark
<i>Chappa</i> (ಚಪ್ಪ)	Mandavya (ಮಾಂಡವ್ಯ)	
<i>Ohiruvélu</i> (ಅಿರುವೇಲು)	Vasishta (ವಸಿಷ್ಠ)	
<i>Chettalu</i> (ಚೆಟ್ಟಲು)	Agastya (ಆಗಸ್ತ್ಯ)	
<i>Cheppúr</i> (ಚೆಪ್ಪೂರು)	Gowtama (ಗೌತಮ)	
<i>Channa</i> (ಚನ್ನ)	Dhananjaya (ಧನಂಜಯ)	
<i>Chintaginjal</i> (ಚಿಂತಗಿಂಜಲು)	Swayambu (ಸ್ವಯಂಭು)	Tamarind seed
<i>Dévaréddi</i> (ದೇವರಡ್ಡಿ)	Daksha (ದಕ್ಷ)	
<i>Dharmávaram</i> (ಧರ್ಮಾವರಂ)	Brahmarishi (ಬ್ರಹ್ಮರುಷಿ)	Name of a place
<i>Diddi</i> (ದಿಡ್ಡಿ)	Madhurishi (ಮಧುರುಷಿ)	
<i>Durga</i> (ದುರ್ಗ)	Sramsí (ಸ್ರಾಮಿ)	Fortress or hill fort
<i>Gaddamu</i> (ಗಡ್ಡಮು)	Koundilya (ಕೌಂಡಿಲ್ಯ)	Chin
<i>Góllu</i> (ಗೋಲ್ಲು)	Srivatsa (ಶ್ರೀವತ್ಸ)	Nail
<i>Gópi</i> (ಗೋಪಿ)	Vyása (ವ್ಯಾಸ)	A kind of earth of yellow color
<i>Gujjári</i> (ಗುಜ್ಜರಿ)	Kousila (ಕೌಶಿಲ)	Dwarf
<i>Gunḍalu</i> (ಗುಂಡಲು)	Digvása (ದಿಗ್ವಾಸ)	
<i>Gurramu</i> (ಗುರ್ರಮು)	Paundrika (ಪೌಂಡ್ರಿಕ)	Horse

Family name.	Eponymous hero or Guru.	Meaning of term.
<i>Gòranṭu</i> (ಗೋರಂಟು)	Kutsa (ಕುತ್ಸ)	A kind of plant
<i>Janaga</i> (ಜನಗ)		
<i>Ganchigudlu</i> (ಗಂಜಿಗುದ್ಲು)	Puttarishi (ಪುತ್ತರುಷಿ)	
<i>Guvvalu</i> (ಗುವ್ವಲು)	Bhárathi (ಭಾರತಿ)	Sparrows
<i>Gájulu</i> (ಗಾಜಲು)		
<i>Jinka</i> (ಜಿಂಕ)	Méshajatha (ಮೇಷಜಠ)	A deer
<i>Kandàlam</i> (ಕಂದಾಳಂ)	Ruruksha (ರುರುಕ್ಷ)	
<i>Kàyatti</i> (ಕಾಯತ್ತಿ)	Sádu (ಸಾದು)	
<i>Kanijepulle</i> (ಕಣಿಜೇಪಲ್ಲಿ)	Pulastya (ಪುಲಸ್ತ್ಯ)	Name of a place
<i>Kenchà</i> (ಕೆಂಚಾ)	Sutîsha (ಸುತೀಷ)	
<i>Kuppa</i> (ಕುಪ್ಪ)	Pururusha (ಪುರೂರುಷ)	Manure heap.
<i>Kyátha</i> (ಕ್ಯಾತಾ)	Yadurishi (ಯದುರುಷಿ)	
<i>Karipili</i> (ಕರಿಪಿಲಿ)	Upèndra (ಉಪೇಂದ್ರ)	
<i>Kongatti</i> (ಕೋಂಗತ್ತಿ)	Gargèya (ಗಾರ್ಗೇಯ)	
<i>Kóta</i> (ಕೋಟಾ)	Kapili (ಕಪಿಲಿ)	
<i>Kyábarési</i> (ಕ್ಯಾಬರೇಸಿ)	Kundali (ಕುಂಡಲಿ)	
<i>Kósalu</i> (ಕೋಸಲು)	Vêdatama (ವೇದತಮ)	

Family name.	Eponymous hero or Guru.	Meaning of term.
<i>Kokku</i> (ಕೊಕ್ಕು)	Pravrisha (ಪ್ರವೃಷ)	Bandicoot
<i>Makam</i> (ಮಕಂ)	Sukirthi (ಸುಕೀರ್ತಿ)	
<i>Māncharlu</i> (ಮಾಂಚರ್ಲು)	Vurahvasa (ವುರಾಹವಸ)	
<i>Myadam</i> (ಮೇಡಂ)	Vurjiswa (ವುರ್ಜಿಸ್ವ)	
<i>Munagapati</i> (ಮುನಗಪಾಟ)	Punyava (ಪುಣ್ಯವ)	Drumstick
<i>Myakala</i> (ಮೇಕಲ)	Sutra (ಸೂತ್ರ)	Goat
<i>Māra</i> (ಮಾರ)	Atri (ಅತ್ರಿ)	
<i>Madduri</i> (ಮದ್ದೂರಿ)	Tukshi (ತುಕ್ಷಿ)	
<i>Marepalli</i> (ಮಾರಪಲ್ಲಿ)	Guhá (ಗುಹ)	Name of a place
<i>Manjarlu</i> (ಮಂಜಾರ್ಲು)	Sandilya (ಶಾಂಡಿಲ್ಯ)	
<i>Nullamu</i> (ನಲ್ಲಮು)	Sanstidi (ಸಂಸ್ಥಿಡಿ)	
<i>Nallagondlu</i> (ನಲ್ಲಗೊಂಡಲು)	Deynaka (ದೇನಕ)	
<i>Nili or Níkula</i> (ನೀಲಿ or ನೊಕಲ)	Bhārgava (ಭಾರ್ಗವ)	Indigo
<i>Nendri</i> or <i>Nyayamu</i> (ನೆನಾರಿ or ನ್ಯಾಯಮು)	Prithvi (ಪೃಥ್ವಿ)	
<i>Padadimi</i> (ಪದಡಿಮಿ)	Purasina (ಪುರಾಸಿನ)	
<i>Paḍimili</i> (ಪಡಿಮಿಲಿ)	Nishnata (ನಿಷ್ಣತ)	

Family name.	Eponymous hero or Guru.	Meaning of term.
<i>Panaganṭi</i> (ಪನಗಂಟಿ)	<i>Aśrama</i> (ಆಶ್ರಮ)	A herb
<i>Palapāṭi</i> (ಪಲಪಾಟಿ)	<i>Niyanti</i> (ನಿಯಂತಿ)	
or		
<i>Pegada</i> (ಪೆಗಡ)		
<i>Pulakanda</i> (ಪುಲಕಂಡ)	<i>Kamandala</i> (ಕಮಂಡಲ)	
<i>Polachalli</i>		
(ಪೊಲಚಳ್ಳಿ)		
<i>Pótu</i> (ಪೊತು)	<i>Atréya</i> (ಆತ್ರೇಯ)	He-buffaloe
<i>Prāṇanātham</i> (ಪ್ರಾಣನಾಥಂ)	<i>Bhrigu</i> (ಭೃಗು)	
<i>Parimi</i> (ಪರಿಮಿ)	<i>Kaundila</i> (ಕೌಂಡಿಲ)	
<i>Palamari</i> (ಪಲಮರಿ)	<i>Chokrida</i> (ಚೊಕ್ರಿದ)	
<i>Palakalapalli</i> (ಪಲಕಲಪಲ್ಲಿ)	<i>Kousika</i> (ಕೌಷಿಕ)	Name of a place
<i>Pabbiti</i> (ಪಬ್ಬಿತಿ)	<i>Mārkandēya</i> (ಮಾರ್ಕಂಡೇಯ)	Do
<i>Pattigonḍlu</i> (ಪತ್ತಿಗೊಂಡ್ಲು)	<i>Bhārgava</i> (ಭಾರ್ಗವ)	
<i>Pellukooru</i> (ಪೆಲ್ಲುಕೂರು)	<i>Raghu</i> (ರಘು)	
<i>Palāram</i> (ಪಲಾರಂ)	<i>Mārīcha</i> (ಮಾರೀಚ)	
<i>Súdd</i> (ಸೂದ)	<i>Rikshibha</i> (ರುಕ್ಷಿಭ)	
<i>Siripi</i> (ಸಿರಿಪಿ)	<i>Rishyasringa</i> (ರುಷ್ಯಶೃಂಗ)	
<i>Silam</i>		
(ಸಿಲಂ)		

Family name.	Eponymous hero or Guru.	Meaning of term.
<i>Sultāni</i> (ಸುಲ್ತಾನಿ)	Brihatti (ಬ್ರಿಹತ್ತಿ)	
<i>Sōma</i> (ಸೋಮ)	Brisista (ಬ್ರಿಸಿಸ್ತ)	
<i>Sandra</i> (ಸಂದ್ರ)	Bhikshu (ಭಿಕ್ಷು)	
<i>Sādanapalli</i> (ಸಾದನಪಲ್ಲಿ)	Subhikshu (ಸುಭಿಕ್ಷು)	Name of a place
<i>Sāmadēsi</i> (ಸಾಮದೇಶಿ)	Soundilya (ಸೌಂಡಿಲ್ಯ)	
<i>Sāma</i> (ಸಾಮಾ)	Vaidhatri (ವೈಧತ್ರಿ)	
<i>Suppalu</i> (ಸುಪ್ಪಲು)	Bharadvāja (ಭರದ್ವಾಜ)	
<i>Srirāma</i> (ಶ್ರೀರಾಮ)	Parāsara (ಪರಾಕರ)	
<i>Tyāka</i> (ತ್ಯಾಕಾ)		
<i>Tādīpatri</i> (ತಾದಿಪತ್ರಿ)	Dhrihurishi (ದ್ರಿಹುರುಷಿ)	Name of a place
<i>Tāṭigondlu</i> (ತಾಟಗೊಂಡ್ಲು)	Srashtarishi (ಸ್ರಷ್ಟರುಷಿ)	
<i>Tāḍa</i> (ತಾಡ)	Chandrarishi (ಚಂದ್ರರುಷಿ)	
<i>Padri</i> (ಪಾದ್ರಿ)	Chanava (ಚನವ)	
<i>Tarunkanti</i> (ತರುಣಕಂಟ)	Dūrvāsa (ದೂರ್ವಾಸ)	
<i>Tumma</i> (ತುಮ್ಮಾ)		
<i>Tirumala</i> (ತಿರುಮಲ)	Visvavasu (ವಿಶ್ವವಸು)	
<i>Togatūru</i> (ತೋಗಟೂರು)	Vaichina (ವೈಚಿನ)	



Family name.	Epouymous hero or Guru.	Meaning of term.
<i>Vangari</i> (ವಂಗರಿ)	Pavana (ಪವನ)	
<i>Vina</i> (ವೀಣ)	Jatila (ಜಟಿಲ)	Musical Instru- ment
<i>Vudatu</i> (ಉಡತ)	Jamadagni (ಜಮದಗ್ನಿ)	Squirrel
<i>Vastràlu</i> (ವಸ್ತ್ರಾಲು)	Angîrasa (ಅಂಗೀರಸ)	Cloth
<i>Vási</i> (ವಾಸಿ)	Trisaka (ತ್ರಿಶಕ್)	
<i>Vangam</i> (ವಂಗಂ)	Pavana (ಪವನ)	
<i>Yallàlu</i> (ಯಲ್ಲಾಲು)	Mauksha (ಮೌಕ್ಷ)	
<i>Yinchamûri</i> (ಯಿಂಚಮೂರಿ)	Tahksa (ತಕ್ಷ)	
<i>Yalakalu</i> (ಯಲಕಲು)	Kasyapa (ಕಸ್ಯಪ)	Rats.

(Preliminary Issue.)

**The**  
**Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

---

**XI.**

**VADDA CASTE.**

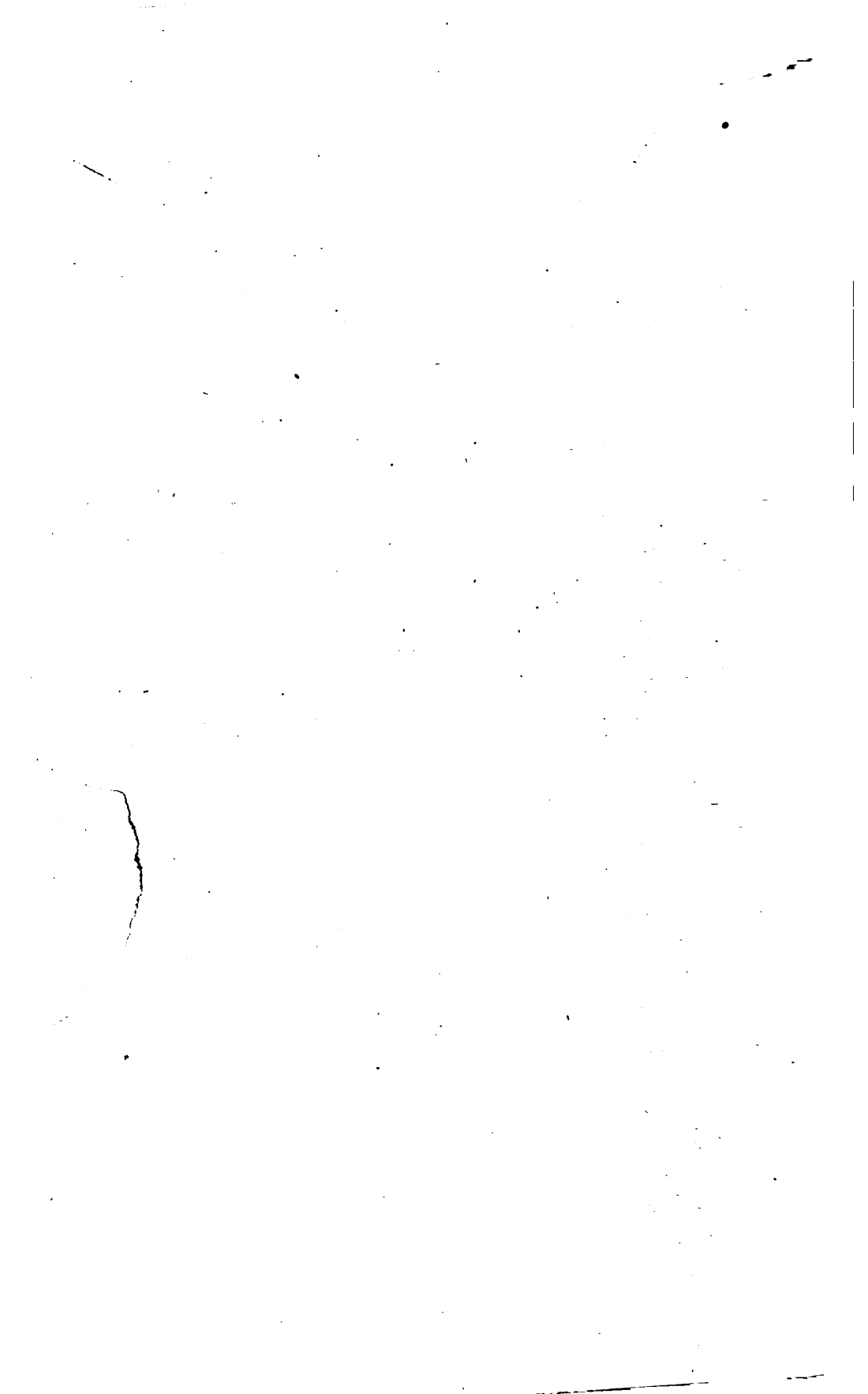
BY

**H. Y. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

---

BANGALORE:  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS.  
1907

*Price 4 Annas.*



(Preliminary Issue.)

**The**  
**Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

---

**XI.**  
**VADDA CASTE.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

---

BANGALORE:  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS.  
1907

*Price 4 Annas.*



# CONTENTS.

---

			PAGE.
Population	...	...	1
Name	...	...	1
Language	...	...	1
Origin	...	...	1
Divisions	...	...	2
Birth ceremonies	...	...	2
Names	...	...	3
Adoption	...	...	3
Marriage	...	...	3
Tera	...	...	6
Peculiar observances	...	...	6
Puberty	...	...	6
Widow marriage	...	...	7
Divorce	...	...	7
Adultery	...	...	8
Basavis	...	...	8
Death and funeral ceremonies	...	...	9
Social status and habits	...	...	9
Dwellings	...	...	10
Admission into the caste	...	...	10
Food	...	...	10
Occupation	...	...	11
Inheritance	...	...	12
Caste assembly	...	...	12
Religion	...	...	13
Dress and ornaments	...	...	14
Other customs	...	...	14
Appendix	...	...	16—17

---

1. 1. 1.

2. 2. 2.

3. 3. 3.

4. 4. 4.

5. 5. 5.

6. 6. 6.

7. 7. 7.

8. 8. 8.

9. 9. 9.

10. 10. 10.

11. 11. 11.

12. 12. 12.

13. 13. 13.

14. 14. 14.

15. 15. 15.

16. 16. 16.

17. 17. 17.

18. 18. 18.

19. 19. 19.

20. 20. 20.

21. 21. 21.

22. 22. 22.

23. 23. 23.

24. 24. 24.

25. 25. 25.

26. 26. 26.

27. 27. 27.

28. 28. 28.

29. 29. 29.

30. 30. 30.

31. 31. 31.

32. 32. 32.

33. 33. 33.

34. 34. 34.

## VADDAS.

The caste of Vaddas contains a population, according to the Census of 1901, of 134,664, of whom 68,681 are men and 65,983 women. They are found in considerable numbers in the districts of Kolar, Chitaldurg and Bangalore. Population.

The name of the caste is Vadda (వడ్డ), said to mean the people of Odra Country (ఒడ్రదేశ), which is identified with Orissa. The titles appended to their names are *Rāzu* (రాజు a chieftain), *Bōyi* (బోయి a carrier) and *Ganda* (గండా a head man), the latter being less common and applied chiefly by the men of the Kallu Vadda (కల్లువడ్డ) section to their headman. Name.

Their home language is Telugu which they speak with an intonation that is uncouth and characteristic. As a whole, they are rude and illiterate and rarely know any other vernaculars of the people amidst whom they settle. They are strong, muscular and of fine size and proportion. In common parlance a Vadda denotes an uncommonly heavy-looking, rude and uncivilized person.\* Language.

No reliable information is available about their origin. They are said to have originally immigrated into the Mysore State from Orissa, Odra-Desa. They tell a story which gives them a divine origin. Pārvati and Paramésvara were on a sultry day rambling on the earth and got very thirsty. They looked round for a well to drink water and quench their thirst, and finding none, Siva created a man and a woman out of the drops of perspiration which fell from his body. These were provided with implements necessary to dig, namely, a crow-bar, a pickaxe, and a basket and were asked to dig a well and procure water. Origin.

\* A Vadda is so very noisy even in his sober conversation that any loud and disorderly talk is known as Vadda's secret conversation. (వడ్డ వాండ పికాంతము).



The command was immediately obeyed and cool water was given to the gods to quench their thirst. The latter were extremely gratified and asked the new-born pair what boon they would have for their labour. But the demand made by these people was so very excessive and out of all proportion to their labour, that Siva disgusted at their cupidity, ordained that thenceforth they and their children should earn their bread only by digging wells and tanks.

#### Divisions.

The caste is made up of (1) *Kallu* (ಕಲ್ಲು) or *Uru* (ಉರು) or *Bandi* (ಬಂದಿ) *Vaddas*, (2) *Mannu* (ಮಣ್ಣು) or *Bailu* (ಬೈಲು) or *Désa-da* (ದೇಸದ) *Vaddas* and (3) *Uppu* (ಉಪ್ಪು) *Vaddas*. The names are suggestive of their professions and the manner of their living, which are detailed further. These three divisions are endogamous. *Kallu Vaddas* who quarry stone are acknowledged to be superior to the other classes and do not eat with them. *Mannu Vaddas* follow the profession of doing earthwork to tanks or digging in gardens or elsewhere for wages. They lead a wandering life. The *Uppu Vaddas* are persons who are employed as sweepers in municipal towns. These rank as the lowest in the scale and the other divisions do not eat with them. By changing the line of their work into that of stone, earth (or *Mannu*) *Vaddas* may be allowed to marry a girl of the *Kallu Vadda* section.

The caste contains a large\* number of exogamous divisions, in some of which such as *Pūla-vāllu* (ಫುಲವಾಳು, flower-men), *Mallelu-vāllu* (ಮಲ್ಲೆಲವಾಳು, Jasmine flower-men), the members exhibit some special regard for the object which gives the name to the division. A list of exogamous divisions is given in the Appendix.

They have no hypergamous divisions in the caste.

#### Birth ceremonies.

During the pregnancy of the wife, a *Vadda* does not breach a tank or carry a corpse. The birth ceremonies observed by them are extremely simple. It is not an uncommon thing that a *Vadda* woman of the *Mannu* section gives birth to a child even when she is doing her daily work as a cooly. As soon as signs of delivery appear, she retires under the shade of a tree, some women of the caste attending to her. A little while after the delivery is over, she

\* Their common saying is ವಡ್ಡಿನಾಳು ಗೋತ್ರಾಲುನೂ ಇನಕನೂ ಎಂಜೊ ನಿಕಿ ಅವುನಾ? that is, 'Is it possible to count the gotras of the *Vaddas* and the grains of sand?'

is led back to her but with her waist bandaged and a cloth tied round her head. The ease with which Vadda women bring forth their children is proverbial and is probably accounted for by the exercise they take in the open air, while doing their ooly work, though the unsophisticated Vaddas themselves attribute this to some sort of curse (ಕಾಪ) which they received from one of their Gurus.\*

This description applies fully to the case of wandering Vaddas. But those that have settled down in towns observe the ceremonies of the people amidst whom they live. The mother and the child are bathed on the 5th, the 7th or the 9th day, when a dinner is given to the caste, and the child is put into a cradle and given a name in the usual fashion.

The following may be given as typical names. :—

Names.

Males		Female	
Yella Bóyi	(ಯಲ್ಲಾಬೋಯಿ).	Yellamma	(ಯಲ್ಲಮ್ಮ)
Guruva Bóyi	(ಗುರುವಾಬೋಯಿ)	Guruvi	(ಗುರುವಿ)
Hanuma Bóyi	(ಹನುಮಾಬೋಯಿ).	Hanumi	(ಹನುಮಿ)
Dása Bóyi	(ದಾಸಾಬೋಯಿ).	Timmi	(ತಿಮ್ಮಿ)
Ganga Bóyi	(ಗಂಗಾಬೋಯಿ).	Gangamma	(ಗಂಗಮ್ಮ)

A childless man may adopt a son from among his agnatic relations; but on account of the general poverty of the caste, adoptions rarely take place. The ceremony observed is the one usual in similar castes. Adoption.

Polygamy is somewhat common, as an additional wife is taken either to help the family in work or for want of children. The first wife's consent is always obtained, and it is generally considered a mark of affluence to have more than one wife. Marriage.

Marriages before puberty are not compulsory, but they take place often. No age limit is prescribed and a woman can contract marriage at any period of life; but she will be considered to have lost in status if she is not married at all. An unmarried woman's dead body is carried only by the hands and consigned to the pit without any formal burial ceremonies.

\* It is said that when a pregnant woman does work (carrying earth), she gets an extra share, the additional share being intended for her child in the womb. (ಕಡುಪುರೋ ಪುಂಡಿಬಿಡ್ಡ ಕಾ ಪಾಲು ಇವ್ವಮನಿ ಮಾಗು ಬುಳು ಬಿಡುಂ.)

The general prohibition of marriage within the exogamous circle is observed as in other castes. For marriage, preference is given to a near relation such as a daughter of a paternal aunt or maternal uncle, or of an elder sister. Marriage is not contracted between persons who are related as mother's sister's children or children of agnatic cousins. Two sisters are not given in marriage simultaneously to one person. Exchange of daughters is not considered objectionable, though only rarely practised.

The proposal for the marriage comes from the boy's parents or friends, who after consulting an astrologer as to the agreement of the stars representing the names of the bridal pair, repair to the house of the girl's father on an appointed day, and make the proposal by presenting him with the amount of the "bride price," one measure of rice, a small measure of ghee, and some betel-leaves and nuts. The elders of the caste and other friends of the girl's father are invited to witness the ceremony, which is known as the *timbūla* of agreement (ನಿಶ್ಚಯಲಿಲಮ್). The father receives the gifts and the proposal is thereupon considered to be accepted.

The marriage takes place on a subsequent day fixed by the parties. It is celebrated in the house of the bridegroom, and generally lasts four days.

The first day is known as *Tolipasupu* (ತೊಲಿಪಸುಪು) that is "the first saffron," on which the bride and the bridegroom are anointed and bathed, and turmeric paste is smeared over their bodies. The new clothes to be used for the marriage occasion are dedicated to the ancestors, and fruits and cocoanuts are offered to an idol in a temple.

The second day is known as *Muyyipasupu* (ಮುಯ್ಯಿಪಸುಪು), i. e., "the return saffron."

On the third day, the *Airane*, that is, the sacred pots are installed in their place. That evening, the party of the bride arrive, and are met by that of the bridegroom. As a mark of respect, the latter entertain the former with toddy, a considerable quantity of which is consumed. A company of married women go to a well and washing the new pots, bring them back in state to the pandal of green leaves set up for the marriage. A wooden pestle wrapped round with a yellow turban and crowned with leaves of the Jambolana (ಜೆರಳಿ) tree is fixed in front of the marriage

booth, to serve as what is styled the "milk post" by other castes; and *púja* with incense and fruits and flowers is offered to it.

The bride and bridegroom are then seated in the booth and new clothes are presented to them, and rice poured into their hands joined together, by the elders of the caste. The bridegroom then ties a string of black beads or a palm leaf round the neck of the bride, and leads her round the post three times.

The sacred pots are then visited by the couple who make *púja* to them. They then light up a lamp placed near these pots, and it is considered an evil sign if this lamp should go out by any accident, and so it is tended with anxious care.

The *muhurta* or the real marriage takes place on the fourth day. A betel-leaf is shaped as a funnel and some married women first pour milk or water through it into the hands of the couple joined together, and then the latter pour milk into each other's hands, while the *Buddhivanta* (ಬುದ್ಧಿವಂತ the caste elder man) repeats the formula "ಭಾಷಮಾಯ, ಭಾಷಮ್" (The word is given; do not go back on the word). After this ceremony the couple are taken in state to a temple to offer prayers to the deity.

The same evening, the bride and her party with the bridegroom leave the house of the latter and go to the bride's house, and it is said that the lamp lit in the bridegroom's house should not be seen that night by the bride and her party. Next morning all return to the bridegroom's house where a general dinner is given to the caste. After dinner the usual *Simbasana*\* (ಸಿಂಹಾಸನ) is worshipped and betel-leaves and areca nuts in the heap formed for *púja* are distributed in the prescribed order of precedence.

The principal item of expenditure in a marriage is liquor supplied to the guests on a liberal scale, and the total amounts to more than Rs. 100 in ordinary cases. The expenses are mostly borne by the bridegroom's party and the customary presents given to the head of the caste and other functionaries are subscribed for by both parties, the bridegroom's contribution being double that of the bride's party.

Traditions regarding capture of wives are not found in this caste.

\* See account of Bédá caste, p. 9.

Tera.

*Tera*, *Vôli* (වූලි) or bride-price is Rs. 7. and sometimes varies up to Rs. 15 according to family custom. A widower when he marries a spinster has to pay Rs. 25 as bride-price in addition to the *Savati-honnu* (සාවති හොණු, co-wife's money).

It is said that Rs. 101 was the amount of *teta* formerly fixed, but as it was too heavy to be borne, many could not marry. One of their headmen (Nayaks නායක) observing that most of his gang wore long beards, being unmarried, realised the oppressive nature of the tax, and reduced it to the present amount together with 101 nuts. Even this may now be compounded for, by the bridegroom agreeing to serve his father-in-law, till he begets a female child and presents her to his brother-in-law.

Peculiar observances

These men have certain peculiar observances. The bridegroom grows his beard until marriage and removes it at that time. Drums and music are not allowed, but in their place, a metal plate is sounded during marriage processions. *Bhdshinga* (භද්ශිංග- marriage chaplet) and flowers are not used.\*

Puberty.

A woman during her menses is considered to be in pollution, which is observed with more than ordinary rigour for seven days on the first occasion. She is prohibited from entering the kitchen and touching utensils used for household work and is given a separate dish for eating. Green leaves of *Ankôle* (අංකොල) tree are kept as a charm in the shed erected separately for her. In the evenings her relatives present her with jaggory, cocoanut, *pan-supari* and turmeric. She is not allowed to sleep at night and her mother and other female relatives keep on talking to her to keep her awake. She bathes on the eighth day and after touching the *Tangadi* (තංගඩ) plant, is allowed to enter the inner parts of the house. If the girl is already married, the consummation of marriage may take place any day after this event without any further ceremony. If she is not married, the consummation

---

\* These rules have become almost obsolete, only the wandering section still adhering to them. The Vaddas who have settled down, have to a large extent been imitating the customs of Vakkaligas as regards marriage and call in the pipers for music and use *Bhdshinga* and do not grow beards till marriage. But all the sections use a pestle (වෙරි) as the 'milk post.'

takes place some day after the regular marriage ceremonies are over; when the husband has to give an additional dinner to the caste and regale them with drink. Girls married before puberty remain with their parents till the time of consummation; boys are not generally married till they are able to work and earn for themselves.

Remarriage of widows is allowed, and it is stated that a woman may not marry more than seven times,\* a restriction not certainly onerous to the weaker sex. She may not marry a brother, but may consort with any of the cousins of her deceased husband. She should eschew those belonging to her father's *kula*. The binding portion of this union which is regarded as somewhat an inferior kind of marriage, is the tying of the black beads round the neck of the woman by the suitor, or by a widowed woman. Widow marriage.

The caste people demand Rs. 4 for effecting unions of widows with their partners. The husband pays to the parents of the woman a sum equal to only half the value of the *proper tera*.

It is said that a widow may transmit the property inherited from her former husband (if sonless) to her issue by a subsequent marriage, but it is doubtful whether such a custom even if proved to exist will be recognised by the Courts.

The marriage tie may be dissolved at the instance of either of the parties. A husband can divorce his wife for adultery, but has to pay to the caste a fine of Rs. 6 which is spent for drink. But when a wife leaves her husband, she has to return the symbol of the marriage tie to him. If she subsequently marries another man, the latter has to refund to the first husband his marriage expenses, and the *tera* amount, besides returning the jewels given to the woman. In some places, however, the *tera* is not refunded. The second husband has also to pay a fine of Rs. 5 to the caste. Parents do not receive into their family a daughter who has deserted her husband or has been divorced by him. If they do so, they are required to pay a penalty of Rs. 12 to the caste. Divorce.

---

\* A proverb which expresses this license given to a Vadda woman runs thus:—*ವಿಷುಮನುವುಲ ಪಾಯ್ಕುಂದಿ ಪದ್ಧತೀಯಿಸಾನಿ*, and means that a woman who has consorted with seven men is a respectable Boyi (i.e., a Vadda) matron.

## Adultery.

Adultery is not abhorred and may be condoned by payment of a small fine to the caste and the infliction of corporal punishment on the guilty party. If a charge of adultery is made good against a man, he is made to crawl round their settlement on all fours carrying one or two persons on his back. A woman similarly convicted has to force herself into a basket and tumble about with weights in another basket placed on her head. Sometimes she is laid on a bed of thorns thinly spread on the ground with weights loaded on her. These modes of punishment formerly in vogue, have probably almost gone out of practice. If they are ever practised at all now, it may be among the primitive section of the wandering Vaḍḍas.

Sexual license before marriage is not tolerated as a matter of course, but if the girl is discovered to have erred with one of her own caste, the fault is condoned by marriage with him. If he is within prohibited degrees or is of a different but higher caste, the girl is fined five to ten Rupees by the caste headman. After payment of the fine, she may be given over to any other in marriage. If the lover should decline to marry her when marriage is permissible, he is put out of caste, and she is free to marry any other person.

## Basavis.

If an adult female cannot get any one to marry her, she may be dedicated to a free life in the name of Yallamma. She is bathed and smeared with saffron, and is seated on a blanket in the temple of this goddess, in the presence of the headman and others of the caste. Married women give her turmeric and the *pūjāri* of the temple makes *pūja* to the goddess and ties a *tāḍi* (with an effigy of the goddess) round her neck, with an invocation to the deity to protect the girl as her child. The castemen who attend at the ceremony are fed at the father's expense. The girl has to spend the first night at the temple. Thenceforth she may live with any person of her own or of a superior caste, but may not entertain one of a lower caste, without forfeiting her own. Her children if born to a man of the same caste rank as legitimate members, while those born to men of higher castes are regarded as forming a separate *salu* or line. Such a daughter is regarded as equal to the son of her father, and her children are entitled to inherit property along with their grandfather's male issue.

The dead are buried in the ground, but in the case of those who meet with an unnatural death such as from bites of wild animals, or of pregnant women or of lepers, the dead body is generally burnt, and in some parts of the State, it is placed by the side of a boulder or a stump of a decayed tree and covered over with stones heaped up. This practice which goes by the name of *Kallu Séve* (ಕಲ್ಲು ಸೇವೆ—stone-service) is probably the relic of a very archaic age. Women dying without a marriage or childless are buried without funeral ceremonies among Kallu Vaddas. The body is muffled up in a blanket and carried by hands to the graveyard where it is buried with its head turned to the south.

Death and  
funeral  
ceremonies.

The funeral ceremonies observed by the people of this caste are the same as those observed by Kurubas and other similar classes. The section of Vaddas who are *Tirumadhāris* (ತಿರುಮಾಧಾರಿಗಳು)\* invite Sātānis to officiate at the funerals.

The period of mourning is twelve days for the death of adult agnates and five days for that of young children and daughter's sons. In Tumkur and parts of Pavagada, however, Kallu Vaddas observe a period of twelve days also for the death of daughter's sons. They show their grief by abstaining from flesh and spirituous liquors and by not taking part in auspicious festivities during the period of mourning (*Sūtaka* ಸೂತಕ). Ordinarily a body is buried with no accompaniments, but that of a person dying on Friday is buried with a live chicken.

They believe in the survival of the ghost after death. Śrāddhas are not observed by them but once a year new clothes are dedicated in honour of the dead and worn with devotion. Brahmans do not officiate as priests for these people, but Sātānis conduct their ceremonies on the last day of the pollution.

Kallu Vaddas may be said to have settled down to ordinary village life, while some Mannu Vaddas are still nomadic in habits, wandering from place to place and encamping temporarily in the outskirts of villages or tanks near their work. Once in every two or three years they attend the *Jātra* festival of their tutelary deity. Their temporary settlements consist of fifty to one hundred families according to the quantity of work found in the

Social  
status and  
habits.

\* Worshippers of Vishnu, wearing the Vaishnava mark on the forehead, the inner line being of reddish or yellow saffron, and the rest white.



neighbourhood. As they have to move out for fresh work, they travel with all their goods and watch dogs, even the materials of huts being transported on donkeys or bullocks. Though they cannot be set down as professional thieves, they seldom miss an opportunity for replenishing their scanty riches by means of highway robbery or petty larceny.

#### Dwellings.

The dwellings of the wandering Vaddas consist of huts made of split bamboo mats and rounded like the covering of a country cart, without any separate apartments. Kallu Vaddas and others who have settled in villages build houses of a permanent nature. While the itinerant Vaddas pitch their huts either outside the villages or near the places where they work, the settled Vaddas have their houses along with those of others in the village.

#### Admission into the caste.

They take into their caste a Kuruba (ಕುರುಬ) or a Golla (ಗೊಲ್ಲ) or a man of any other higher caste than their own. Female members, it is said, can be taken from among the inferior castes, but such recruits are regarded as half caste. The aspirant has to spend a considerable amount in supplying food and drink to the caste before his admission, and the headman touches his tongue with a heated needle besides procuring for him *tirtha* and *prasāda* (holy water and victuals) from the temple of their tribal goddess, Yallamma.

#### Food.

Their daily food consists of ragi bread and balls, with vegetables and dhall. They eat almost any animal food except beef. Sheep, goats, pigs, squirrels, wild cats, lizards and mice are equally welcome to them. Both the sexes indulge in immoderate drinking and even children are not free from this vice. They do not fish and do not catch big game, but are adepts in snaring field rats and squirrels, and men, women, and children armed with sticks join with considerable zest in hunting for such vermin by the aid of dogs. This indeed is one of their keenest sports.

Idiga is the lowest caste in whose houses Vaddas eat. Madigas, Malas (Holeyas) and Korachas eat in the houses of Vaddas.\*

Village washermen wash their clothes and the barber pares their nails, but it is said these two classes do

\*Vadda women are said not to eat in the houses of Vakkaligas (ವಕ್ಕಲಿಗ) as the latter touch night soil when manuring the fields.

not render their services to the Vaddas during marriages. A Vadda can draw water from the common village well and his approach is not regarded as polluting by anybody.

Earth and stone work is their characteristic occupation, and tank-digging, well-sinking, road-making and quarrying stone are mostly done by men of this caste. They also carry on trade in salt in out-of-the-way places. The Salt Vaddas (ಸಲ್ಟ್ ವಡ್ಡರು) at Bangalore, Kolar, and other municipal towns are employed as street sweepers and they are regarded as outcastes by the main body. There are a few among them who are cultivators possessing lands of their own. Some stone Vaddas also go about villages and towns in search of jobs of roughening the surfaces of grinding stone mills.\*

Occupation.

Vaddas have earned a bad reputation as thieves. †

Though they cannot be properly classed among the professional criminal tribes, many of those detected in the commission of highway robberies, are found to be Vaddas, especially of the itinerant and immigrant classes. The indigenous Vaddas whether of the Kallu or of the Mannu section have mostly settled down to peaceful habits.

Another prominent characteristic in the wandering Vaddas is their persistent and insatiable demand for money from their employers. They always have an advance owing to their employer equal at least to twice as much as their work is worth, and it is not uncommon that when the advance accumulates to a tolerably large amount they desert their employer and decamp without any previous notice. The Vaddas work in gangs under contractors who are often put to much loss on this account.

The Vaddas believe themselves to be raised above others of the same craft, if they do not engage themselves in

---

\* Most houses possess stone mills for grinding rice and ragi. A circular stone is imbedded in the ground or placed loose, and on a wooden pivot driven through its center another round stone with a stake fixed as a handle near its rim, is made to revolve driven by women squatting on the floor. There is a cup-like receptacle on the upper stone where it takes the pivot and grain is put in through it. The mechanism is crude, but it is very effective. The grinding surfaces of the two stones get worn out by use, and then the surface has to be made rough again by the chisel of these Vaddas. They get about an anna for the work which is done in an hour's time.

† Notes on the Criminal Tribes of the Madras Presidency by Mr. P. Mullaly.

plastering walls with cowdung or red earth or in sweeping the streets.

**Inheritance** In the matter of inheritance, they follow the Hindu Law as administered in the State. The property of the father is on his death distributed among all the sons, the eldest of them getting an extra share. The unmarried sons at the time of partition are allowed their marriage expenses from the common property in addition to their shares; the daughters and the sisters are given some portion, either a field or some cattle or a jewel. One peculiarity in their partition, is said to be that a pregnant woman gets also a share for her unborn child. *Illdatam* the affiliation of a son-in-law, is practised in this caste.

**Caste assembly.**

They have caste *panchayats* which consist of the Yajamán (headman) and a few old men known as *Buddhivantalu* (ಬುದ್ಧಿವಂತರು or wise men), with a beadle called Konḍigádu (ಕೊಂಡಿಗಾಡು). They take cognizance of disputes between the members of a family or different families and offences relating to the violation of caste rules in the matters of eating, drinking, adultery, etc. In an enquiry at such an assembly, the complainant and the accused swear by placing a twig in the hands of the foreman of the council to promise to abide by the decision arrived at by the assembly. They have also to deposit a certain sum as the probable cost of feeding the caste and supplying them with liquor, as a preliminary condition of enquiry. A witness called before the assembly has to go round them holding in his hands a little twig presented to him by the party who has called him to testify. He then says “ಮಾತೃಪಿತೃ ಲೋಕದ, ಕನಿಕರವಾಗಿ ಅಪರಾಧವು ಜಪ್ಪಿದಿರಲೇದು” that is, “Upon my parents’ word, I shall not tell a lie as to what I know.” Thereupon he breaks the twig into two and begins his statement. This is equivalent to his swearing that he separates the truth from falsehood in his testimony, as pieces into which the twig is broken \* are separated from each other. If the witnesses decline to swear in this manner, the party who called them loses his case. The contesting parties are then advised to come to terms. If, however, they are obdurate, the losing person is made to bear the weight of a grinding stone on his head as a penalty.

---

\* When it is meant to say that a man's word is the exact truth, it is said that he speaks as if a twig had been broken and handed over by him (ಕಡ್ಡಿಮುರಿದು ಕೈಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟುಹಾಕಿ).

The panchayat may award, either a fine, or corporal punishment. If it is a fine, half of it goes to the Yajamān (headman) and the other half to the rest of the people of the caste assembled. The maximum fine for abusive language is one rupee for a male person and higher if it is a female that is abused. A daughter-in-law abusing her mother-in-law is more severely dealt with, as she will have to carry on her head a grinding stone three times round their settlement of huts. For the offence of adultery, a fine of ten rupees is ordinarily levied.

They are Hindus by religion and are the worshippers of *Saktis* and Vishnu in his several representations. Religion. Venkatarāmāna of Tirupati is the principal object of their veneration. The principal goddess is Yallamma and is worshipped under one or the other of the following names, Sunkalamma (ಸುಂಕಲಮ್ಮ), Chaudamma (ಚೌಡಮ್ಮ), Mārāmma (ಮಾರಮ್ಮ), Sidubamma (ಸಿಡುಬಮ್ಮ), Kariyamma (ಕಾರಿಯಮ್ಮ), Gangamma (ಗಂಗಮ್ಮ) or Yallamma (ಯಲ್ಲಮ್ಮ).

Goddesses are worshipped on Tuesdays and Fridays with the help of a priest belonging to one of the lower castes. On other days, any devotee can break cocoanuts, and burn camphor in front of the temple dedicated to any of these goddesses, without the help of the priest or *pūjari*. Annual festivals are held in their honour and on such occasions large collections of people take part in the festivities.

Kariyamma (ಕಾರಿಯಮ್ಮ) at Sira, in the Tumkur District, is an important goddess worshipped by this caste, in whose honour a *Jātra*, i.e., an annual festival, is held on the New Year's Day (ಉಗಾದಿ). Buffaloes are sacrificed to this goddess during the festival. Sidde Dévaru (ಸಿದ್ಧೇವೇವರು) is the male god installed near the temple of Kariyamma. A man of the Vadda caste is its priest. Animal sacrifices are not made to this god but only vegetable food is offered (ಚೋಕ್ಕು ಭೋಜನ).

They have a belief that children after they depart from this earth live in the shape of spirits known as Iraru or Iragáru (ಈರರು ಅಥವಾ ಈರಗಾರರು), which visit people in their dreams and cry for help. To propitiate such spirits *Irakallus* (ಈರಕಲ್ಲು ಗಳು) that is, stones having male figures cut in them, are planted outside the village and occasional worship is made to them,

When a settlement of Vaddas is suffering from the ravages of an epidemic, such as small-pox, Sidubamma (සිදුබමා), i.e., the goddess of small-pox is installed on a bed made of green margosa leaves and worshipped in the usual style, curds and cooked rice mixed together forming an important item of the offerings. After due propitiation, the goddess is transported beyond the borders of their village or settlement and left at the confines of another village, the people of which with due ceremony pass her on further. This transportation from place to place goes on, till the goddess misses her way in the jungles or becomes innocuous after the monsoons have well set in.

Dress and ornaments.

Their women do not wear bodice-cloths, or tie their hair into a knot, or dress it with oil. A woman that shows even a slight inclination to neatness and trespasses the limits of custom in the matter of dressing herself and her hair, is looked down upon as transgressing the rules of conventional propriety. They wear glass bangles on their left hands and brass ones on the right. Toe rings are used by married women only. A big nose-screw is the characteristic ornament of a Vadda woman who also puts on a large number of strings of white and black beads round her neck. They are however slowly changing in these respects imitating the more refined neighbours, Uppu Vaddas being the most conservative among them.

A Vadda man is not supposed to shave his head or beard, but this prohibition has become obsolete except among the Uppu Vaddas, who still refrain from shaving their heads, though their beards may be removed.

Other customs.

The Vaddas have no spiritual head or guru. They say that long ago they had a guru or razu, who was of ascetic habits and eschewed meat and sugar. They were also vegetarians in those days. Once when they visited their razu in one of his periodical tours to give them *tirtha* and *prasadda* and receive their contributions, he supplied them with rice and other provisions and sent them to a pond to cook and eat their food. The sight of fish in the clear water of the stream was too tempting to be resisted, and they caught and cooked it for themselves. Their guru cursed them to remain flesh-eaters for all time and forsook them, and they have never again ventured to raise another to that position.

Another peculiar custom is that Vaddas never eat a tortoise. They call it their grandmother (ಅಜ್ಜ) and say that formerly it did them ~~some~~ service and in recognition of this, they do not kill it. If a Vadda sees anybody carrying a live tortoise for eating it, he buys it from him and takes it to a well or tank and leaves it there in the water.

---

## APPENDIX.

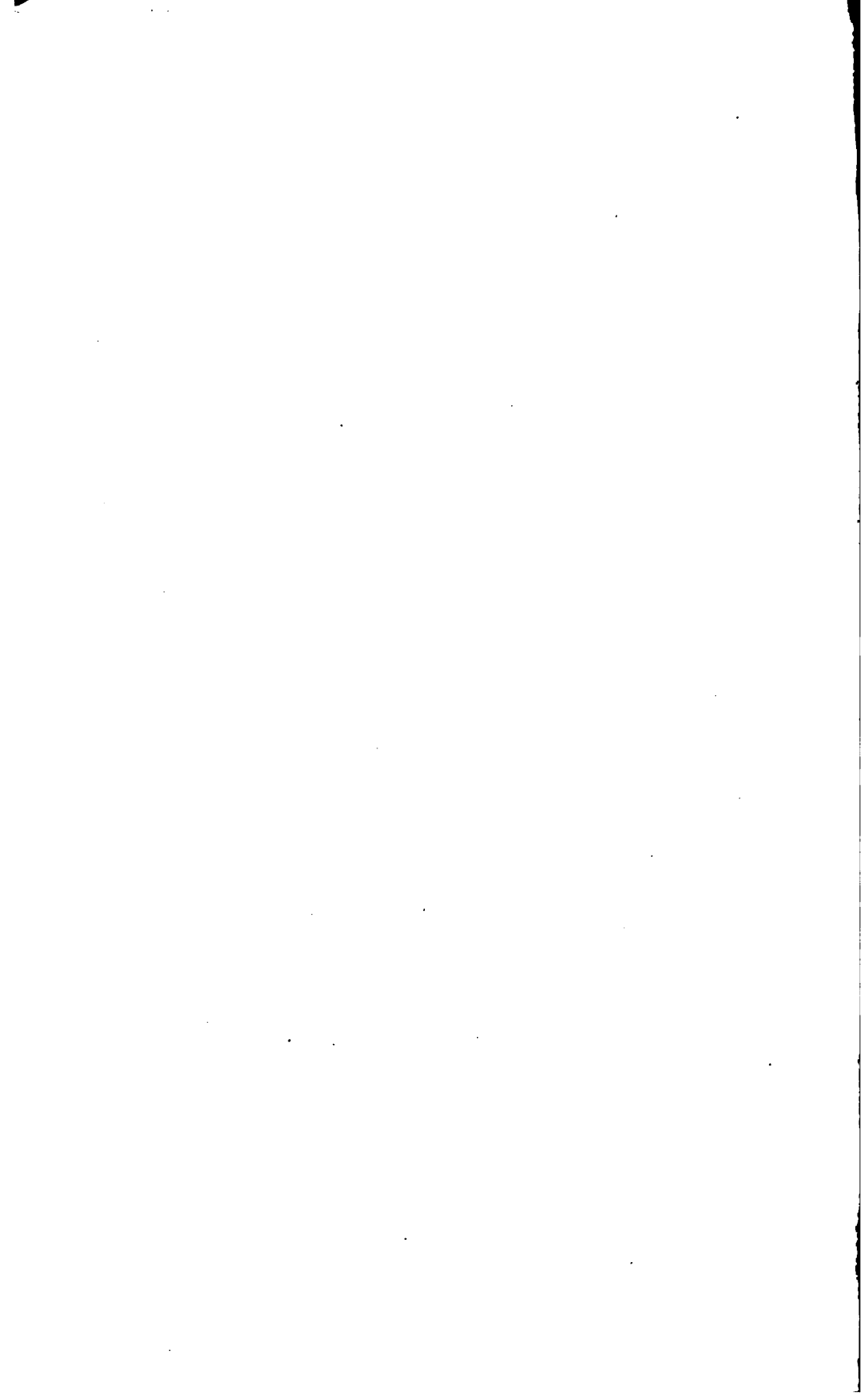
## List of Exogamous Divisions (Gótras).

		Meanings (if any)
<i>Pandipatlavāḥu</i>	(ಪಂದಿಪಟ್ಟ ವಾಳು)	Pig
<i>Jarapala</i>	(ಜರಪಲ)	•
<i>Ālukuntala</i>	(ಆಲುಕುಂಟಲ)	
<i>Manjara</i>	(ಮಂಜರ)	
<i>Pīṭala</i>	(ಪಿಟಲ)	Plank
<i>Gógala</i>	(ಗೋಗಲ)	
<i>Yanumala</i>	(ಯನುಮಲ)	Buffaloe
<i>Uppala</i>	(ಉಪ್ಪಲ)	Salt
<i>Gunjala</i>	(ಗುಂಜಲ)	
<i>Mallela</i>	(ಮಲ್ಲೆಲ)	Jasmine flower
<i>Mallepala</i>	(ಮಲ್ಲೆ ಪಲ)	
<i>Dydrangala</i>	(ದ್ಯಾಂಗಲ)	
<i>Santakuppala</i>	(ಸಂತಕುಪ್ಪಲ)	Salt seller in week-
<i>Jadipila</i>	(ಜಡಿಪಿಲ)	ly fairs
<i>Kunjigala</i>	(ಕುಂಜಿಗಲ)	
<i>Sárigala</i>	(ಸಾರಿಗಲ)	
<i>Boorusala</i>	(ಬೂರಸಲ)	
<i>Manjala</i>	(ಮಂಜಲ)	
<i>Sallala</i>	(ಸಲ್ಲಲ)	
<i>Pallepala</i>	(ಪಲ್ಲೆ ಪಲ)	
<i>Yidugatla</i>	(ಯಿಡುಗಟ್ಟಲ)	
<i>Rólu</i>	(ರೋಲು)	Mortar
<i>Duḍugala</i>	(ದುಡುಗಲ)	
<i>Sátala</i>	(ಸಾತಲ)	
<i>Gujjala</i>	(ಗುಜ್ಜಲ)	
<i>Battala</i>	(ಬತ್ತಲ)	
<i>Banḍi</i>	(ಬಂಡಿ)	Cart
<i>Chinna Banḍi</i>	(ಚಿನ್ನ ಬಂಡಿ)	Little cart
<i>Vorasa</i>	(ವೊರಸ)	
<i>Danḍagala</i>	(ದಂಡಗಲ)	

<i>Dunḍagala</i>	(ದುಂಡಗಲ)	
<i>Gāyaṇuttala</i>	(ಗಾಯಮುತ್ತಲ)	
<i>Sāḍigala</i>	(ಸಾಡಿಗಲ)	
<i>Rājula</i>	(ರಾಜಲ)	
<i>Bachchukallala</i>	(ಬಚ್ಚು ಕಲ್ಲಲ)	
<i>Tyāpala</i>	(ತ್ಯಾಪಲ)	
<i>Seṭṭi</i>	(ಸೆಟ್ಟಿ)	Headman
<i>Yarra</i>	(ಯರ)	Red
<i>Yāvala</i>	(ಯಾವಲ)	
<i>Bosidi</i>	(ಬೊಸಿಡಿ)	
<i>Gampala</i>	(ಗಂಪಲ)	Basket
<i>Yāpala</i>	(ಯಾವಲ)	Margosa
<i>Bantala</i>	(ಬಂತಲ)	Quilt of rags
<i>Chimpiri</i>	(ಚಿಂಪಿರಿ)	Dishevelled or curly haired
<i>Guddili</i>	(ಗುದ್ದಿಲಿ)	Spade
<i>Komare</i>	(ಕೊಮರೆ)	Dried cocoanut
<i>Pūvalu</i>	(ಪೂವಲು)	Flower
<i>Ryāpanūrala</i>	(ರಾಘವನೂರಲ)	

---





(Preliminary Issue.)

**The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

---

**XI.**

**YADDA CASTE.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

---

BANGALORE:  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS.  
1907

*Price 4 Annas.*



(Preliminary Issue.)

**The**  
**Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

---

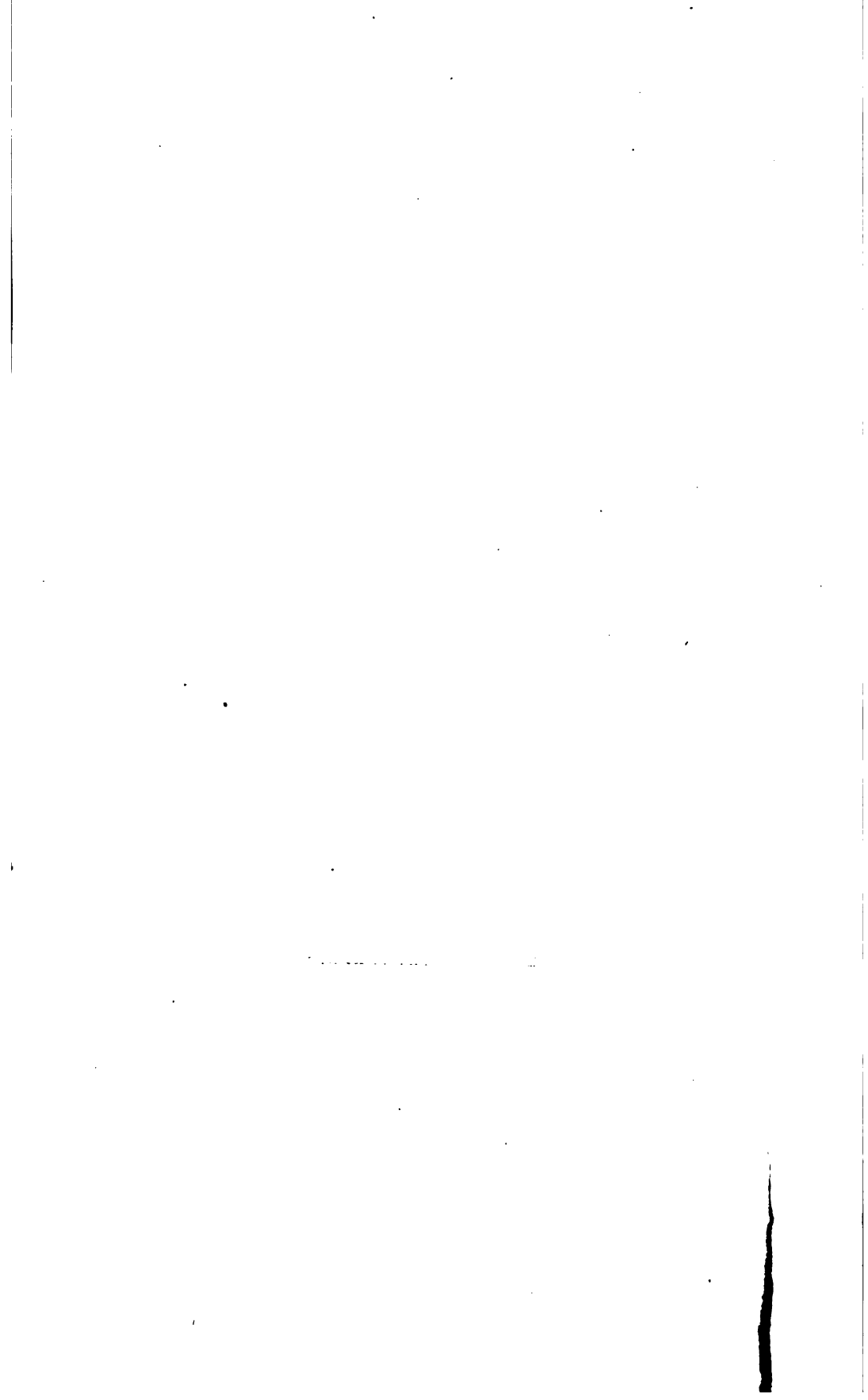
**XII**  
**NAYINDA CASTE.**

BY  
**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

---

BANGALORE:  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS.  
1907

*Price 4 Annas.*



## CONTENTS.

---

			PAGE.
Population	...	...	1
Name	...	...	1
Language	....	...	2
Divisions	...	...	2
Birth ceremonies	...	...	3—4
Adoption	...	...	5
Marriage	...	...	5—8
Marriage expenses	...	...	9
Widow marriage	...	...	9
Divorce	...	...	10
Death ceremonies	...	...	10
Social position and habits	...	...	11
Admission of strangers	...	...	12
Occupation	...	...	13
Religion	...	...	15
Feasts	...	...	16
Inheritance	...	...	17
Caste organisation	...	...	17
Food	...	...	17
Appendix	...	...	18—20



## NÁYINDAS.

Náyindas numbered according to the Census of 1901, Population. 38,179, of whom 19,420 were males. They are found in largest numbers in the Districts of Bangalore, Mysore and Kolar.

The general name is *Náyinda* (ನಾಯಿಂದ) in Kannada, Name. *Mangala* (ಮಂಗಲ) in Telugu, and *Ammattan* in Tamil. The Hindustani term *Hajám* (ಹಜಾಮ) is also very commonly employed. The term *Náyinda* is said to be derived from the Sanskrit term *Nápita* (ನಾಯಿತ) which means a barber, of which a shorter form *Nai* seems to be employed as the name of a similar caste in Northern India. The term *Mangala* (ಮಂಗಲ) auspicious) is applied to them, as they are called to assist at auspicious ceremonies in various ways.

Their profession of shaving is generally regarded as inauspicious, and the proper name of the caste is not pronounced especially by married women of the upper classes. They call him one not to be thought of or named (ನೆನೆಯ ಬಾರದವ or ಚೆಪ್ಪರಾನಿವಾಡು) especially when his name has to be mentioned at nights.

He is also known by his profession as *Kshaurika* (ಕ್ಷೌರಿಕ Sansk. one who shaves), *Kelasi* (ಕೆಲಸಿ Kan. one doing the work, i. e., of shaving) and *Bhajantri* or *Mélagára* (ಭಜಂತಿ, ಮೇಳಗಾರ, musician).

The members of this caste prefer to call themselves by this last name or *Angárakas* or *Nayana kshatris*. It is difficult to discover why they adopted the name *Angárakas*. *Angáraka* is also known as *Mangala*, the planet giving the name to Tuesday, and as these men are styled *Mangalis* in Telugu, some one must have jocularly applied the equivalent of *Mangala* to them. Probably the name was adopted as it was more euphonious than their ordinary vernacular names.



\*They even say that Mars (Angáraka) is the barber for the Dévas, a statement for which there is no warrant in any of the accepted Mythological authorities.

They profess to have been born originally out of the eye of God Siva, and so they call themselves Nayana Kshatris ("eye" Kshatriyas). Once upon a time, it is said, Párvati seeing Siva unkempt and unshaven in the face, gave a gentle hint that her consort might with advantage pay more attention to his toilet. Siva thereupon created from his left eye a person who came out armed ready with a case of shaving implements. He pleased the god that created him with his services, and was given as a reward a set of musical instruments. He was the progenitor of the barbers, who have always added the profession of playing on wind instruments to that of shaving men.

They also refer to two persons Khandōji and Timmoji (ಖಂಡೋಜಿ, ತಿಮ್ಮೋಜಿ) as men of blessed memory (ಸಿದ್ಧ ಪುರುಷರು). But who they were, and what connection they had with this caste and the profession of shaving and music, there are no means of ascertaining. On some occasions, *tumbúlas* are taken out in their names and given over to the headman of the caste (ಕಾಲಂಜೆದ್ದು).

Language.

In the Districts of Kolar and Bangalore, Telugu is spoken by the majority of this caste, Kannada being their prevailing language in other places. Recent immigrants from the Telugu districts of Madras especially from Cuddapah, speak Telugu even in the city of Mysore, although they have settled there for some generations.

Divisions.

The caste has, according to the language spoken by the members, two main divisions, each of which has further sub-divisions. All these divisions and sub-divisions are said to be endogamous.

The Kannada (speaking) Náyindas are comprised of Morasu, Uppina and Silavanta (ಮೊರಸು, ಉಪ್ಪಿನ, ಶಿಲವಂತ) sub-divisions. The term *Morasu* probably indicates the country of origin being the eastern part of Mysore with the bordering British territory, and is used as a distinguishing appellation to sub-divisions of other castes also, such as Holeyas and Vokkaligas, and Morasu-Nád among Sri-Vaishnava Brahmans. *Uppina* means 'of salt' and it cannot be explained why this appellation has been given. *Silavanta* (ಶಿಲವಂತ) is either one carrying a stone (or *linga*) or *Silavanta* (ಶಿಲವಂತ), 'one of (good) character,' and is the

name of those who are of the Lingáyata faith. They are strict vegetarians, and do not touch liquor.

The Telugu-speaking Náýindas have four sub-divisions, Nádigaru (నాదిగారు), Raddi-bhúmi (రెడ్డి భూమి), Gundla-jágata (గుండ్ల జాగట) and Kuḍi-paiṭa (కూడిపైట). Nádigaru means people of the country, but it is not known which country is meant. They are probably indigenous to Mysore. Raddi-bhúmi (land of the Raddis) denotes that they originally came from Bellary, Cuddapah and other Telugu tracts of the Madras Presidency. Kuḍi-paiṭa denotes that the women of this section wear their garment so that the loose end of it passes over the right shoulder from the front and hangs over the left shoulder, a fashion which is the reverse of what is generally adopted. This exceptional mode of dressing is in vogue in some other castes also, and indicates that they have all preserved some local usage, which is different from that prevailing in the place of their later settlement. The exact import of the appellation Gundla-jágata (a round cymbal) is not known.

The Telugu Náýindas have some exogamous divisions named after plants, flowers, animals and other objects, with the usual prohibition against killing, cutting or using them. The Kannada-speaking men have not returned any such sections and have probably none existing. Some of them have returned *gótras*, connected with the name of some Rishi. There are twenty-five of them arranged in groups of five each, and marriages are prohibited between members belonging to the same group.\*

There are no hypergamous divisions in this caste.

There are few caste peculiarities in regard to ceremonies observed about the time of child-birth. As usual in most castes, the young woman goes to the house of her parents for her first accouchement. On some day either in the fifth or the seventh month of pregnancy, a feast is observed and she is given various sweet dishes to partake according to her taste and presented by her father with a wearing garment and a *ravike* cloth. The husband is also generally invited, and in some places, he pays her father a sum of three rupees for expenses on account of delivery.

Birth ceremonies.

During the wife's pregnancy, the husband has to abstain from killing any animal, carrying a corpse, or putting

---

\* See the names given in the Appendix.

on the roof of a house. He cannot take part also in such auspicious acts as smearing the bridal pair at a marriage with turmeric powder or pouring coloured rice over their heads; nor should he touch the *milk pot* or the *bhāshinga*. Certain practices are observed in case it should happen that the pains are unusually prolonged or the labour otherwise difficult. Indeed, these prohibitions and practices are common to all the castes of a similar intellectual status and have nothing to do with any particular caste. The midwife\* mutters charms over some castor oil and gives it to the patient to drink or smear over the navel. A bangle of brass or silver, preferably one with some charm or other inscribed on it, is washed in cow's urine and smoked with incense, and given to her to wear on the wrist. A *Rāna sēture* is made, i. e., a number of persons standing in a row pass on a vessel of water, over which some *mantra* has been uttered from hand to hand, and the last person, generally a woman, either sprinkles the patient with the water or makes her drink a little of it.

For the same object, the husband may perform certain acts, such as pulling down the cross slab of stone planted by the side of the road over two upright slabs for resting the head loads of weary wayfarers, or running naked at night to a water course and pushing out the washing slab of washermen there, or cutting the ropes tying together the rafters of a thatch roof, or firing off a gun with blank powder near the patient's room.

The child is washed soon after birth, and the navel chord which is cut is sometimes preserved, as it is considered to make barren women who swallow it fruitful. At the threshold of the confinement room, an old winnow and a broomstick are kept, and a bunch of margosa leaves stuck to the door frame.

The mother and child are bathed on the ninth or eleventh day after *ārati*. A dinner is given to some members of the caste, and those of the Vaishnava faith invite a Sātāni priest to give *tirtha* and *prasāda* to the mother. The child is put into a cradle for the first time that evening, and a name given to it as suggested by an elderly member or by a soothsayer. Some of these men who live in towns are more ambitious and follow or profess to follow all the practices of the higher castes such as Brahmans and Komatis,

\* A midwife is generally called *Mantra-Sāni* (ಮಂತ್ರಸಾನಿ) which means an adept in *mantras* or charms.

which they have ample opportunities of observing, when they are called in to serve as musicians on such occasions.

They have no peculiarities in the names that they give to their children. Names.

It is stated that a sister's son cannot be adopted, and though he may be brought up as a foster-son, he does not obtain either the rights or incur the disabilities of an adopted son. The daughter of the foster-father may be given in marriage to such a foster-son. It is said that the affiliation of a son-in-law (*illāṭam*) does not obtain in this caste. Adoption.

Adoption must take place when the boy is young, at any rate before he is married. The ceremonies are the same as in other non-Brahman castes, i.e., a caste dinner, bathing the boy and cutting off his waist-thread and putting on a new one, and sometimes giving him a new name.

A feast is observed when the male child's hair is shaved for the first time. This is done generally before the temple of the family god, and a barber of another family is employed and paid a customary fee of a *hana* for the service. \*

Polygamy is allowed but seldom indulged in, and polyandry is unknown. The common prohibition against marrying agnatic relations is strictly observed. Marriage is permissible with an elder sister's daughter or the daughter of a maternal uncle or paternal aunt, the first of these relations being the most popular. Only in cases of extreme necessity such as a widower not being able to procure an eligible mate, is marriage with a younger sister's daughter tolerated. \* If two families each contract a marriage with a third family, it is said that they thereby become brother families, and no marriage can take place between their members. It would follow from this rule that one cannot marry a girl from the family of one's grandmother, though it may not be the same as his own. There is no prohibition against two sisters marrying the same man either simultaneously or successively though simultaneous marriage rarely takes place; and two brothers may marry two sisters. When a man has married a daughter of his sister, his son is not allowed to marry Marriage.

\* The popular saying to this effect is *ಚೆಡಿ ಚೆಲೆಲು ಬಿಡ್ಡನು ಚೇನುಕೊ*,—an adage whose chief virtue perhaps lies in the alliteration of its principal terms.

either a daughter of that sister or of other sisters, for though before the father's marriage, they were eligible as his paternal aunt's daughters, they become the equals of his mother's sisters after that event. Exchange of daughters in marriage between two families is allowed but there is a belief that only one of them will result in a happy union.

Some persons of the caste who have risen to any position of wealth and independence have long given up shaving as their profession, and restricting themselves to acting as pipers, have changed the name of the caste to Balajiga. \* Such persons are not willing to give their daughters in marriage to those who continue to be barbers by profession.

A woman may be married at any age or may remain unmarried altogether; but it is said that an unmarried woman cannot take part in marriage ceremonies such as carrying the *kalasa* or smearing the bride with turmeric powder, and when she dies, full obsequial rites are not performed. The husband must always be older than the wife. The first proposal for marriage emanates from the father of the young man, who repairs to the bride's house with the auspicious articles, † and moots the subject in the presence of a caste assembly. These things together with a new cloth and sometimes a sum of three rupees towards expenses of the marriage are presented to the bride after her father expresses his formal consent. A Brahman astrologer fixes the proper day, and a dinner is given to the caste. After this *Vilya* or *Vakkaku sāstra* (ceremony of betel-leaves), the contract is complete, and the party that breaks it will have to pay the expenditure incurred by the other.

The marriage festivities last five days, and the ceremonies are more or less the same as in the ordinary Sudra castes. The *dēvarūta* (god's feast) or the offerings to ancestors (పెద్దలకూపట్టిది) takes place on the first day, when the eldest male member of the house and the party to be married eat only one meal and make *pūja* to a *kalasa* set up in

\* Balajiga with its caste termination Nāydu seems to be the favourite refuge of various nondescript Telugu speaking castes, when they desire to raise their social rank so as to be in keeping with any augmentation of their material status.

† మంగళద్రవ్య such as turmeric powder, red saffron, areca nuts, betel-leaves, flowers, fruits, etc.

the names of the family god and the departed ancestors. The bride and the bridegroom are smeared over with turmeric powder and the young man puts on silver toe-rings. On the second day, the pandal is erected on twelve posts, of which the 'milk' post is of green *Nérale* or *Atti* (Indian fig), a twig of which has been cut for the purpose by the maternal uncle. The bride and her party arrive at the village of the bridegroom that evening and are received and duly lodged in a separate house. Five married women of both the parties go to the potter and bring the sacred pots, which should be four large ones, four smaller ones, four lamp stands, four dishes and four small goglets, which have been painted over with chunam lines. They are placed in a room on a bed of manure collected from five houses with nine kinds of grains spread over, and the lamps are lighted and kept burning all the remaining days of the marriage.

The principal ceremony takes place the next day. Early in the morning a party of men and women go to a temple and bring a *Nérale* twig back which they bind to the 'milk' post together with a *kankana*. The nails of both are pared, and after bathing, the man dressed in wedding clothes goes out to a temple, where he is seated on a blanket and married women smear his face and limbs with turmeric ; and sometimes he eats a little rice behind a screen in company with his best man (ಬೇಸು ಮದವಣಿಗೆ). The bride in the meanwhile sits on a plank in the house, and a procession passes between them thrice, each time carrying some presents, and on the third time, the bridegroom also going with them, holding a dagger rolled up in a red handkerchief. After the mock resistance of pelting each other with half-husked rice, and the waving of *drati*, the bridegroom is made to stand on the dais facing the bride with a screen between them. This is presently removed, and the bridegroom ties the *tali* to the neck of the girl, while the *purohit* repeats some benedictory verses. The parents of the bride and others of the assembled people pour milk on the joined hands of the couple through a funnel of a betel-leaf, which act completes the gift of the girl to her husband. After pouring handfuls of rice over each other's head, they sit together, the girl being on the right side, and tie *kankana* on their wrists. Five women then paint their limbs with saffron, and put on *Sāse* \* and bless them. After the distribution of

---

\* For meaning, see account of the Koracha caste, page 10.

*támbúla* to the assembly, the couple have the fringes of their garments knotted together and walk round the milk post thrice and go to worship the sacred pots, their passage into the room being barred by youngsters who get a promise of a daughter in marriage and hear the husband naming his wife. After this, the newly married pair with some other married couples of both parties sit round a common dish and partake of the bridal dinner (*Bima ಭಿಮ*).

On the next day called the *Ndgavali* (ನಾಗವಲಿ), the married couple go to an ant-hill with a procession, and after making *púja* to it, the bridegroom digs some earth out of it, which the bride carries in a basket on her head. On their return to the house, twelve balls are made of this earth and one placed near each of the pillars of the pandal.

They both get their nails pared and bathe, and with wet clothes on go to the sacred pots in company with their maternal uncles, and perform *púja* to them. Then they put on fresh clothes and perform *púja* to the pillars, burning incense and placing offerings of cooked rice and sweet cakes before each of them. In some places, they also perform after this a ceremony which they style *asi dévaru* (ಅಸಿ ದೇವರು), for which eleven lamps made of ragi flour are filled with castor oil and kept lighted in the pandal, and worshipped by the couple. After the pot-searching ceremony,\* the *Kankana* or wrist bands are untied.

The *púja* of *Simhásana* † takes place that afternoon, an elderly man of the caste and not the *purohit*, directing the ceremony. The betel-leaves and nuts taken out of the heap are distributed, the first *támbúla* going to the family god, the second to the progenitors of the caste *Khandoji* and *Timmoji*. The *Kaṭṭemanes* or caste guilds are next honoured and then the *Yajman* and the *Kolkar*, these two getting an additional *támbúla* for their official position.

Some married women make *púja* to the sacred pots, and taking them to a well, empty the contents therein together with the manure and the grains (which have probably sprouted) which formed the bed on which these pots had been placed. The vessels are distributed among the relatives, some being given to the bride's party as souvenirs of the marriage. That night, they have a dinner at the bride's house, which is styled *tiruvapi* (ತಿರುವಪಿ). The next day the festivities come to a close with a return dinner (ಮರುವೆ)

\* See the account of the *Koracha* caste, page 10.

† For a description of this ceremony, see the account of the *Beda* caste, page 9.

given to the bride's party and the caste members generally at the bridegroom's house.

The *tera* (bride price) varies between twelve and sixteen rupees and goes to the parents, who, if in good circumstances, purchase some jewel for the girl out of it. No additional sum is demanded of a widower. Nothing is by custom paid to the bridegroom. The expenses of a marriage may be roughly estimated at a hundred rupees for the male's and at a fourth of that sum for the female candidate's party. Poor men cut short the expenditure by finishing all the ceremonies in a single day, celebrating the marriage in a temple, and reducing the feeding expenses to a minimum. Expenditure.

On attaining puberty, a girl is considered impure and kept at a distance for three days. A hut of *Lakkali* (लकली) or margosa leaves is erected, and she is decked in festive dress and exhibited in state in the evenings for three or four days. The husband bears the expenses of all this show. A dinner is given to the caste on a day fixed, and the husband and wife live together thenceforth. The ceremony is done in simpler style for an unmarried girl, and when marriage subsequently take place, the husband and wife may live together from the fourth day of the marriage. In some places,\* however, they seem to imitate some of the higher castes in putting off the cohabitation for three months after the marriage.

Remarriage of women is prohibited in some sections of this caste, while the majority allow it. A widow may not marry her deceased husband's brother, elder or younger. After announcing their intention to marry before an assembly of castemen, the man ties a *tali* after obtaining the headman's permission. The ceremony generally takes place in the evening and is followed by a dinner. Regularly married women take no part in it. The bride price is usually half the amount due for a virgin marriage. The general rules of law are recognised about her losing her rights over the property and the issue of her previous husband. A remarried woman has the usual social disabilities of being denied any prominent part in marriage and similar festivities. Such marriages are said to be looked upon with disfavour, a sure sign of a desire on the part of these men to raise themselves in the social scale. It is said that the amount of bride price is diminished by half for every successive marriage, though cases of more Widow-marriage.

---

\* E. g., Hassan.



than two marriages are very rare. There is no time prescribed within which a widow should not remarry after her husband's death.

#### Divorce.

Those who allow widow marriage are, as may be expected, more lax in the way in which they look upon divorce and disregard of marital obligations. Among them, if an unmarried girl associates with a man of the caste, she may be married to him in *kudike* form. A man who seduces a married woman, may marry her subsequently on paying the marriage expenses of her husband, and giving a dinner and paying a fine to the caste. Either the husband or the wife may get a divorce if they agree, and marry again in the *kúdi* form. The fault of adultery in a woman may be condoned by the caste headman, if she undergoes an expiatory ceremony, after which the husband may take her into his house.

They do not celebrate any mock marriages with trees or swords when real husbands cannot be found, nor do they dedicate girls to temples.

#### Death ceremonies.

The *Silavanta Náyindas* observe the same ceremonies as *Lingáyatas* for burying the dead body. The *Jangama* or the *Lingáyata* priest is invited to consecrate the body with the water in which his feet have been washed; the body is carried in a *vimána* in a sitting posture and lowered into the pit in a sitting posture with a *linga* in its hand. After the grave is filled up, the *Jangama* is worshipped standing on it, and assures the mourners that the deceased reached Kailása (the heaven of Siva).

Those who wear *náma* marks, invite the *Vaishnava* (*Sátáni*) priest. After washing the body and putting *námds* on it, the priest worships a *chakra* (discus) near it with offerings of food and liquor, of which afterwards he partakes a little and distributes the remainder as *tirtha* and *prasáda*. The body is buried in a lying posture.

Those who belong to neither of these cults bury the dead body in the same manner as *Vakkaligas* or *Kurubas* and with similar ceremonies.

On the third day, the chief mourner and the bearers of the corpse purify themselves with a shave, and a bath after the shoulders which bore the dead body are anointed with oil. They offer food and water at the grave for the ghost of the deceased. The pollution (*sútaka*) is removed on the eleventh day. *Tirunámadháris* (*Vaishnavas*)

worship the *chakra* (discus) again on the grave with ceremonies as in the first day on a larger scale. After they return home, they continue their eating and drinking sometimes far into the night under the lead of their *Sāstāni* priest, those who are not *Nāmadhāris* being altogether excluded on such occasions.

They go to a temple the next day to get the gate of heaven opened for the entry of the departed soul. The deceased man's son shies a lump of butter at the image, and repeats the formula that if the deceased had thrown stones, he now throws butter; \* and prays that god may preserve the survivors safely, though it pleased him to take away the deceased †

Before the end of the month, the *Lingáyata Náyindas* feast the *Gaṇas* or priests in memory of the deceased (ಗಣರಾಧನೆ).

For children or unmarried persons dying, only the third day ceremony is performed, fried grains, plantains and milk being placed on the grave instead of cooked food.

Their period of *sūtaka* is ten days for agnates, and three days for children. They do not observe any pollution for the death of daughter's children. During such period, they eschew the use of luxuries such as milk and sweet cakes, and do not go to play music in temples.

They do not perform annual *srāddhas* for deceased ancestors. On the *Mahālaya* New Moonday, they worship a *kaṭasa* in memory of all their ancestors, offering new clothes and food before it. A second wife sometimes performs such ceremonies intended to propitiate the spirit of her deceased predecessor.

The bodies of persons meeting with unnatural death are also buried with the same ceremonies as those of others. Except the wrapping shroud, nothing is buried with any corpse. A three pie piece is placed on the grave when filled up, and the *Holeya* of the place takes it as his perquisite.

It is a disputed point between the *Agasas* and *Náyindas* as to which caste is entitled to precedence. On public

Social position and habits.

\* ಸತ್ತವನು ಕಲ್ಲಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಹೊಡೆದಿದ್ದರೆ ಈಗ ಬೆಣ್ಣೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹೊಡೆಯುತ್ತಾನೆ ಸ್ವಾಮಿ.

The idea is that of expiation for the evil deeds of the departed man.

† ಹೋದವನು ಹೋಗಲಾಗಿ ಇರುವವರನ್ನು ತಣ್ಣಗೆ ಕಾಪಾಡಿಕೊಂಡು ಬಾ ಸ್ವಾಮಿ.

occasions such as distribution of *prasāda* in a temple, discord is avoided by doing the thing simultaneously to both of them. Agasas do not supply the canopy cloth for pandals, or hold torches during processions at the marriages of Náyindas. The latter in retaliation decline to act as musicians or pare the nails of the parties to marriages in Agasa families. On ordinary occasions, however, each caste has no objection to perform its professional services for members of the other.

The touch of a Náyinda is considered to defile a Brahman, a Kómati and men of some other similar castes. All Hindus consider it absolutely necessary to purify themselves by bathing the whole of their bodies and washing all the clothes they had on after getting a shave. The hairs are all carefully picked and removed, and the spot where the operation was done, is washed with cow-dung and water. Shaving is considered an inauspicious operation, on account of its association with the unfortunate widows of higher castes, and so women shrink from the touch of the barber caste though men have to undergo tonsure for many an auspicious ceremony also. On the whole, the men of this caste are held in lower estimation than Agasas chiefly on this account.

They are a settled people and live in the same quarters as other non-Brahmans in the village, and own the same kind of houses in accordance with their means, many in town living in tiled houses of substantial construction.

**Admission  
of strangers**

In some parts of the State such as Kolar and Mysore Districts, the Náyindas admit persons of a higher caste as members. If the recruit is a child under one year, he is taken as a member of the caste without any disabilities. But others and their issue are generally regarded as forming a distinct section with whom one may dine in company, but intermarriage is interdicted. It is doubtful, however, if this distinction is kept up for more than a short period, till the origin is forgotten. For taking a new man into the caste, the tongue is slightly touched with heated gold, and *tirtha* and *prasāda* obtained from a temple for him, and a fine has to be paid and a dinner given to the caste. In Bangalore, they say that no recruitment is thus allowed; and even if a woman of a higher caste associates with one of this class, the latter will not be permitted to eat food cooked by her without losing his caste. It is, however, likely that this is an exaggerated statement of persons who wish to prove that they are as exclusive as the higher

castes. The social rank of Náyindas is somewhere near that of Agasas and Bedas. Perhaps their profession as musicians, and the greater opportunities of observing more intimately the manners and customs of the higher castes on religious and ceremonial occasions, have given them certain advantages and made them imitate somewhat more extensively such customs and usages. They also make a better show in the matter of education, the Census returns showing that 2·1 per cent of them know how to read and write, while the percentage for the whole population is only 4·8.

They do not shave Holeyas and Mádigas who have their own barbers, and do not play at the marriages of these castes, and also of Agasas, Korachas and Vaddas. They may live in the same quarters as other (non-Brahman) castes, and draw water from a common well.

The chief occupation of this caste is that of barbers; Occupation and they are also professional musicians. They were formerly also village surgeons, for dressing wounds and setting broken limbs, but this part of their work has almost disappeared, as after the spread of hospitals and dispensaries, very few care to avail themselves of their services. Women of this caste were employed as midwives, and many in remote villages have still that vocation. A Náyinda is a recognized member of the village service, and as such, he has to play at the services in the village temple. Where there are a number of them in a village, they perform such service in turns. For barber's service also, they have recognized families of customers, and one of them does not encroach within the circle of another.

They carry the instruments of their trade always with them in a leather pouch which is hung under their left shoulder, and a barber is readily recognized by the bulging in the left side within his upper garment. The contents of this bag are razors, scissors, a small hone, a leather strop, a nail parer, a looking glass and a cup for water. The instruments are all cheap and crude, made in the country, but they are kept sharp, and many barbers are experts in shaving very clean, without using any soap or brush. It has become common, especially in the larger towns to use razors of European manufacture together with soap and brush for shaving; and in Bangalore, there are one or two whose trade is so flourishing as to need a bicycle for swift locomotion.

Their musical instruments are various, and some Ná-yindas attain considerable proficiency in this art. The wind instruments are three or four classes of pipes, the *Sruti* (ಸ್ರುತಿ) used as an accompaniment to the more important *Nāgasara* (ನಾಗಸಾರ), the former giving a continuous monotonous sound, and the latter playing the different tunes. These two are played on all important occasions. They have also smaller flutes and pipes sounded in a lower key, for what they style the *Sanna Mēla* (ಸನ್ನ ಮೇಲ). They have small drums of two or three kinds and also cymbals for *tāla* (ತಾಲ). In larger places, they have organised bands of European music which they imitate with more or less success. A few of them play on the fiddle, but they do not touch *vina* or the *tumbiri*, which rank as a higher class of musical instruments in India.

The necessity of this service (of music especially) in connection with many solemn celebrations of all classes of Hindus is so great, that a Ná-yinda is also known as a '*Mangalavādu*' (ಮಂಗಳವಾಡು) in Telugu, i.e. 'an auspicious man,' though curiously enough his profession is so connected with the unfortunate disfigurement of widows in some of the higher castes, that he is at the same time regarded with some aversion, and that the very name of his caste should not be mentioned by married woman, especially in the night time. Before taking part as musicians in connection with religious ceremonies in temples and elsewhere, the chief man of the group so engaged, shaves himself and bathes for purification. The profession of music being the higher of the two, men of this caste as they grow prosperous in life give up shaving, and assume the name of Telugu Balajis as their caste. They decline to have marriage relations with those who still continue in the barber's occupation. Similarly Ná-yindas who are Lingáyatas in religion are not allowed to have social relations on terms of equality with other Lingáyatas.

The remuneration of barbers is regulated by custom in the rural parts of the State. For an ordinary family having three or four male members, five Kolagas\* of grain

\* A Kolaga (ಕೊಳಗ) is a measure of capacity for grain, being a twentieth part of a Khandaga (ಖಂಡಗ) or Putti (ಪುಟ್ಟಿ). The quantity going to a Khandaga varies very widely, being only 50 seers in some places and so much as 3,200 seers in some other places. The standard Khandaga for the State known as Krishnaraja Khandaga is 160 seers, and it is this that is meant when the term is not qualified to denote some local variety.

with a winnowful of paddy or other grain (ಮೊಲಬತ್ತ) and a bundle of straw (ಹೊರಕುಲು) at the threshing floor, are the annual allowance. On days on which he goes to render service, the barber is fed at the house of the customer, and on feast days, the Náyinda like other *Ayagáras* (ಆಯಗಾರ) or persons remunerated by customary fees in kind, gets doles of cooked food at the houses of the chief village families. On special occasions, such as the first tonsure of a child, or shaving on the occasion of *upanayana*, the barber is given a fee of a *hana* (4 As. 8 p.) in cash, raw rice and other provisions, and a cloth, generally the one worn by the person shaved.

In larger towns, the practice of yearly payments is not in vogue, and money wages are paid generally for each operation, varying according to the position of the patient and the skill of the barber. The usual fee for adults is one anna in small, and two annas in larger towns. The Náyindas are also paid separately for playing as musicians, the rates varying according to the demand at the particular season of the year, from 1 or 2 rupees to 10 or 12 rupees for a band of four or six individuals. The fee paid in villages for attendance at marriages is generally fixed at Rs. 2.

There are quite a number of them now who have taken to agriculture either owning the lands they cultivate, or being tenants on *Vára*\* or other terms. This is generally an addition to their caste occupation, which in the villages is not sufficiently remunerative, but there are many families which have altogether ceased to follow their customary trades and in fact have altogether forgotten them. Náyindas are not hunters by profession, but they have no objection to join parties organised by others. There are also some carpenters and bricklayers among them. Very few have found a place in the higher walks of life such as Government service, though one of them is known to have risen as high as a Subordinate Judge in the Bombay Presidency.

These worship both Siva and Vishnu. Those known as Silavantas are Lingáyatas and worship only Siva, while Tirunámadháris who profess the Vaishnava faith also reverence Siva. Each family worships some special deity as its patron god. There is no particular god regarded as entitled to the distinctive allegiance of the

\* *Vára* (ವಾರ) is a lease on the condition of paying a defined share of the produce, generally a half, in kind to the landlord.

whole caste. The other deities worshipped are Munísvara (ಮುನೀಶ್ವರ), *Akkagáru* (ಅಕ್ಕಗಾರು the sisters), who are regarded as spirits of the woods and trees, Gangamma (ಗಂಗಮ್ಮ water-god) and the *Grámadévate* (ಗ್ರಾಮದೇವತೆ) such as Máramma (ಮಾರಮ್ಮ) and Sidubamma (small-pox spirit). Fowls and sheep are sacrificed to these goddesses and eaten afterwards by the devotees. Pújaris may or may not be employed to conduct this worship.

The *Akkagáru* have no temples generally. On a Tuesday or a Friday, a small shed of green leaves of Honge (ಹೊಂಗಿ), *Pongamia glabra* is put up outside the village in a grove or near a well or a river, and seven small stones to represent seven sisters are installed therein, with one stone in front to represent Munísvara. A lamp is lit, and púja made by offerings of turmeric, *Kunkuma*, flowers and fruits and the burning of incense. A fowl or a sheep is sacrificed, and is afterwards cooked and eaten up on the spot, no part of it being brought home. They give a *támbula* in honour of some departed worthies of their caste Khandoji and Timmoji, but there are no shrines answering to these names.

Those who are Lingáyatas employ Jangamas or other Lingáyatas as their priests. Others employ during marriages, Brahmans, who, though they do not enter the houses, have no objection to go into the marriage pandals of these men, and are not on that account subjected to any social ban on the part of other Brahmans. Sátáni men act as priests in connection with death and funeral ceremonies of the Náýindas bearing the Nàma marks. The *gurus* of this caste are Srí-Vaishnava Brahmans who pay periodical visits for the purpose of giving them *tirtha* and *prasáda*, and collecting the customary fees.

#### Feasts.

They observe as feasts, the Yugádi (New-year's-day) Gauri festival, the Mahánavami, Dipávali and Sankránti. The implements of their trade are worshipped at the Gauri festival and Mahánavami during the Dasara. They worship the serpent in the ant-hills on Nágara Panchami day, and take only one meal. They also take only one full meal on the Saturdays of the Srávana month in honour of the god of Tirupati, and on the Sivarátri and the chief Ékádasi (the 11th day of the first fortnight of Asháḍha). They give *edé* (ಎಡೆ), i.e., uncooked provisions to *Dásaris* on Saturdays in Srávana and to Jangamas on Sivarátri day.

There are no peculiarities in the rules of inheritance. Inheritance It is said that a larger share is sometimes given at the partition to the eldest brother, but the usage is apparently not wide-spread enough to be recognised as enforceable.

Náyindas belong to the Eighteen Phanás. They have a number of *Katté-mané* (ಕಟ್ಟೆಮನೆ) each with a Yajman at the head; and four or five of these *Katté-mané* are under a Setti. Désa-setti, who is generally a Lingáyata Bañajiga, has jurisdiction over the whole caste within his area. Each Yajman has a *kolkar* (beadle) under him. The disputes that arise for settlement in their caste assemblies relate generally to adultery or transgression of caste rules. When any matter of more than usual importance crops up, the Désa-setti, caste Setti, and the several Yajmans with their *kolkars* have to be present along with castemen. The Setti and other office-bearers are paid some fees according to a prescribed scale, and all the expenses of such meetings are borne by the persons at whose instance they have been convened. Caste organization.

Náyindas are allowed to eat meat and drink spirituous liquors, both toddy and arrack. They cannot touch beef; and the meat of such animals as monkeys and snakes which are eschewed by all respectable castes is also prohibited. Bestas are the lowest caste in whose houses they are allowed to take food. Holeyas and Mádigas seem to be the only castes who eat food cooked by them. Food.

They have the usual belief of the uncultured in omens, oracles, magic and sorcery and occasionally consult soothsayers; and such belief is, as may be expected, more in evidence in villages than in towns. They have no peculiar games, but take part as musicians in the exhibitions of strolling players known as Dombí Dásaru (ದೊಂಬಿ ದಾಸರು), contributing the musical parts of the performance. In dress and ornaments, they are exactly like other castes of similar status such as Bédas and Agasas. Women and occasionally men before they are twenty, get tattooed by Koracha women, with the object of improving their personal appearance. Miscellaneous.



## APPENDIX.

## List of Exogamous Divisions or Gótras.

---

*Ohiḷu* (ಒಹಿಲ್ಲು) Name of a tree which they neither cut nor burn.

*Gurram* (ಗುರ್ರಂ), Horse. They do not ride a horse.

*Gautalu* (ಗೌತಲು)

*Jambu* (ಜಂಬು) a kind of reed which they do not cut.

*Kánagula* (ಕಾನಗುಲ) or *Honge* (ಹೋಂಗಿ) *Pongamia glabra*. They do not cut this tree nor burn this fuel nor the oil of this seed.

*Kàru* (ಕಾರು) a tree which they never cut.

*Mallela* (ಮಲ್ಲೆಲ) Jessamine. They do not use this flower.

*Mutyāla* (ಮುತ್ಯಾಲ) Pearl.

*Navilu* (ನವಿಲು) Pea-cock. They do not eat this bird.

*Pālu* (ಪಾಲು) a herb known as *Pālu mullangi* (ಪಾಲು ಮುಲ್ಲಂಗಿ), which they do not eat.

*Pasupu* (ಪಸುಪು) Turmeric. They do not raise turmeric crop.

*Sāmanti* (ಸಾಮಂತಿ) *Chrysanthemum*. They do not use this flower.

*Uttarēni* (ಉತ್ತರೇಣಿ) a plant. *Achryranthes aspera*, which they neither cut nor touch.

Some have returned gótras named after certain Rishis.

Prastanapa

(ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾನಪ)

Puḥaruna

(ಪುಹರುನ)

Vástuka

(ವಾಸ್ತುಕ)

Visvabhadrā

(ವಿಶ್ವಭದ್ರ)

Sasvara

(ಸಸ್ರವ)

1st Group.

Ruchidatta

(ರುಚಿದತ್ತ)

Lókahétu

(ಲೋಕಹೇತು)

Indraséna

(ಇಂದ್ರಸೇನ)

Bhadra

(ಭದ್ರ)

Kólapála

(ಕೋಲಪಾಲ)

2nd Group.

Vástupati

(ವಾಸ್ತುಪತಿ)

Chitrakamānu

(ಚಿತ್ರಕಮಾನು)

Giridharma

(ಗಿರಿಧರ್ಮ)

Déṣabhadr

(ದೇವಭದ್ರ)

Rājadharmā

(ರಾಜಧರ್ಮ)

3rd Group.

Kausala

(ಕೌಸಲ)

Sahasrabhīru

(ಸಹಸ್ರಭೀರು)

Vasudharma

(ವಸುಧರ್ಮ)

Vyanjaka

(ವ್ಯಂಜಕ)

Bhúktavyaya

(ಭೂಕ್ತವ್ಯಯ)

4th Group.

Sanabhasa  
 (ಸನಭಸ)  
 Désakamānu  
 (ದೇಶಕಮಾನು)  
 Vajrachéta  
 (ವಜ್ರಚೇತ)  
 Prabhútavanu  
 (ಪ್ರಭೂತವನು)  
 Yájyamati  
 (ಯಾಜ್ಯಮತಿ)

5th Group.

---

(Preliminary Issue.)

**The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

---

**XIII**

**DOMBAR CASTE.**

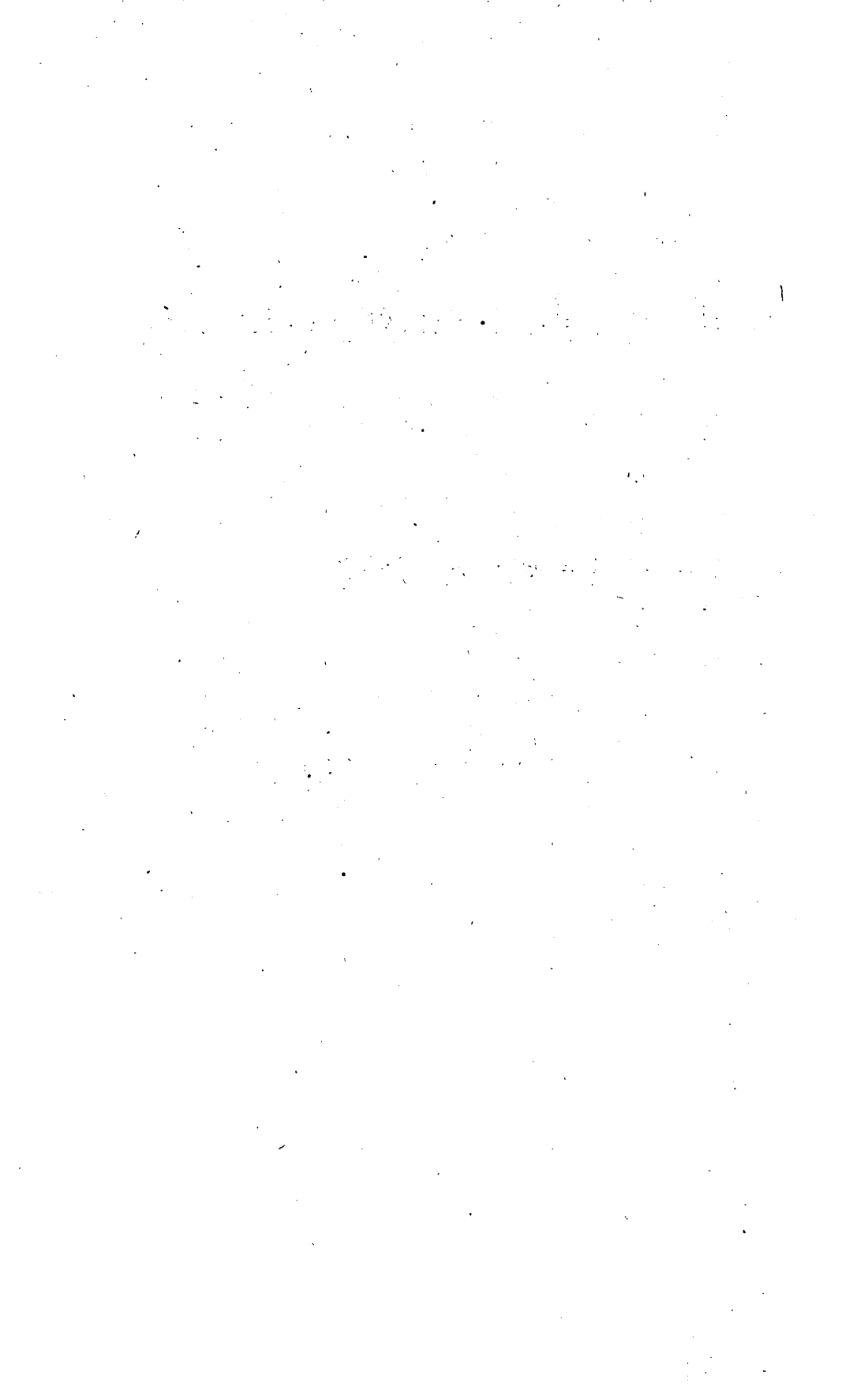
BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

---

BANGALORE:  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS  
1908.

*Price 6 Annas.*



(Preliminary Issue.)

**The**  
**Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

---

**XIII**  
**DOMBAR CASTE.**

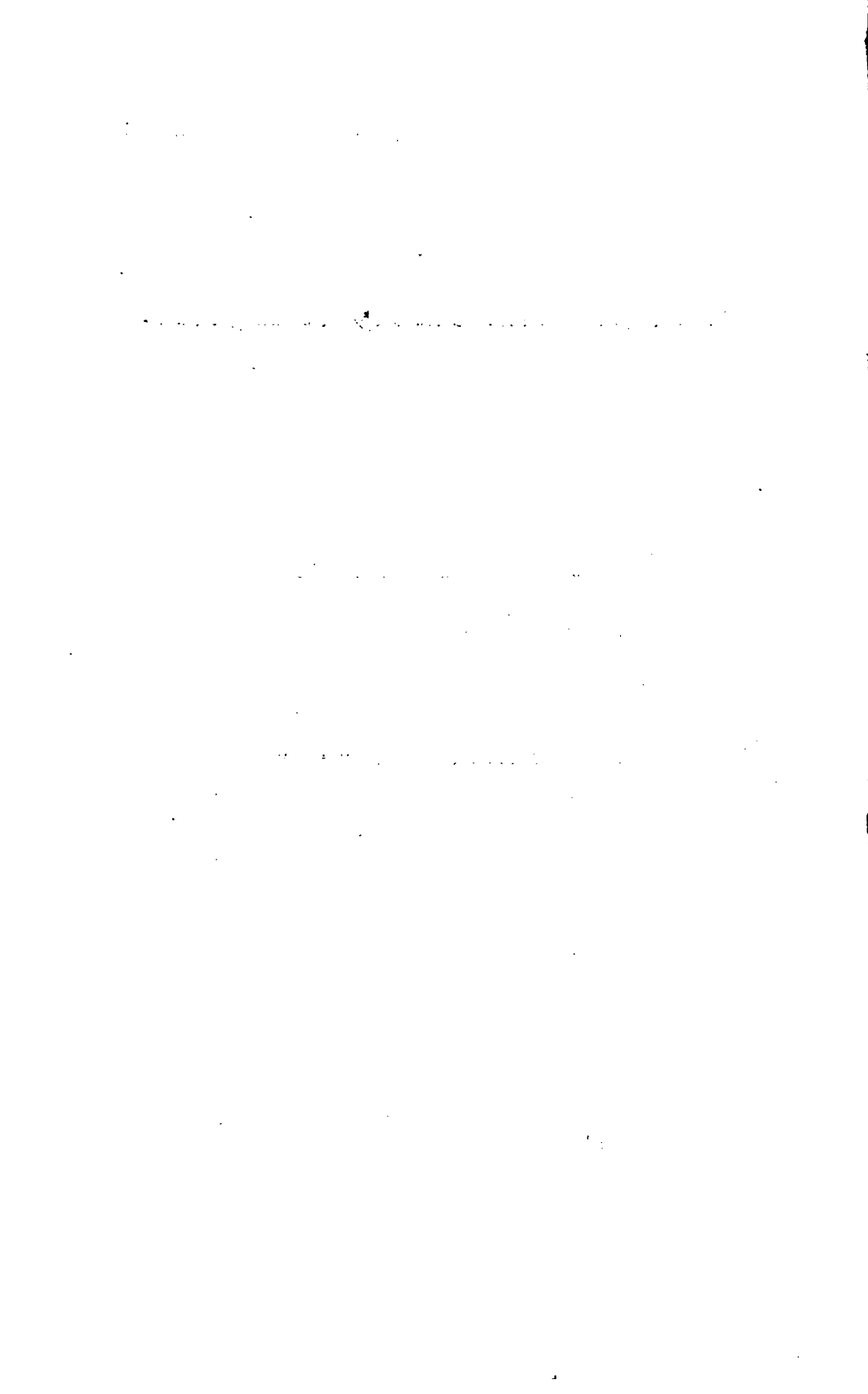
BY

**H. Y. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

---

BANGALORE:  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS  
1908.

*Price 6 Annas.*



## CONTENTS.

---

The Caste	...	...	...	...	1
Name	...	...	...	...	1
Meaning of the name	...	...	...	...	1
Traditions about origin	...	...	...	...	2
Divisions	...	...	...	...	4
Birth Ceremonies	...	...	...	...	4
Adoption	...	...	...	...	5
Marriage	...	...	...	...	5
Puberty	...	...	...	...	9
Widow Marriage	...	...	...	...	10
Divorce	...	...	...	...	11
Adultery	...	...	...	...	11
Dedication of Prostitutes	...	...	...	...	12
Death Ceremonies	...	...	...	...	13
Settlements	...	...	...	...	15
Social Status	...	...	...	...	16
Admission into the caste	...	...	...	...	13
Caste organisation	...	...	...	...	17
Inheritance	...	...	...	...	19
Religion and Superstitions	...	...	...	...	19
Occupation	...	...	...	...	21
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...	22
Appendix A—their dialect	...	...	...	...	24
Appendix B—List of sub-division	...	...	...	...	31

---





## DOMBAR.

Dombars (ದೊಂಬರು) are essentially a wandering tribe, though many of them have, like similar wandering tribes, such as Korachas, settled down in towns and villages. They are acrobats and tumblers by profession and are generally tall, muscular and well-made, with a complexion varying from shades of copper to dark. They numbered according to the last Census (1901) 2,911 including 1,390 males and 1,521 females. They are, as a class, illiterate, and rarely show any inclination to send their children to school. The caste.

The common name by which the caste is called is Name. Dombaru (ದೊಂಬರು) which is a later form of the original word Dombaru (ದೊಂಬರು). They have no other names in this State. In the Vizagapatam District of the Madras Presidency, they are known as Itévallu (ಈಟೆವಲ್ಲು). They are described as people who "exhibit different shows, such as wrestling, ascending high poles, walking on ropes. The women act as common prostitutes."\* The titles used by the headmen of the caste are 'Raddi,' 'Náyadu' and 'Náik.' The suffix 'gádu' is added at the end of the personal names of males when addressed by persons of a higher caste, while the common suffixes of Appa and Ayya are used for males when they are addressed either by persons of their own or of an inferior caste.

The meaning of the term "Dombar" is not clear. Some derive it from a class styled *Dombs* in Northern India. The latter are however scavengers and are employed to carry corpses of destitute paupers, and correspond to the Mádigas of the south, while the Dombars occupy a comparatively higher position. It can hardly be said that similarity of name is anything more than an accidental coincidence. The Dombars are moreover a Telugu caste, and their traditions and customs point to their immigration into the State from the Karnool and Nellore Districts. Meaning of the name.

Dombars who perform feats in public make a great deal of din and noise, with drums and loud shrieks to attract a large crowd of spectators. This kind of clamour is called "*dombi*" or "*dombi*" (ದೊಂಬಿ or ದೊಂಬಿ) in Kannada, but whether the caste takes its name from this term or whether "*dombi*" meaning a tumult or tumultuous rabble is

\* The Vizagapatam District Manual of 1869, page 67.

derived from "Dombar" (the name of the caste), it is not easy to determine.

Traditions  
about ori-  
gin.

A Raddi had by his younger wife, it is said, a son who was born without any limbs. Ever after, he was pursued by great misfortune, and a soothsayer having, on consultation, discovered that the unfortunate child had brought ill-luck into the family, he commanded his wife to do away with the child. Her maternal affection induced her to temporise and she hid the child in a manger. Cattle unaccountably died in large numbers, and a similar result was observed wherever the child was removed. In despair, the mother handed over the child to a wandering beggar to be disposed of in some safe place, and the latter consigned it to a ruined well. The unwelcome brat had however a tough life and was not drowned. His cries attracted the attention of the Gods Párvati and Paramésvara, who on learning his unfortunate history, miraculously gave him his limbs and at his request bestowed on him a right to obtain an earthen drum from a potter's house, and doles of rice in each house to which he would resort for beggary. The boy was in such ecstatic delight at getting his limbs, that he jumped out of the well at one bound and cast himself at the feet of his divine benefactors.\* He was then enjoined to add the profession of acrobatic performer to that of itinerant beggar. The Dombars are his descendants by a concubine he picked up in his wandering tours.

Another story is that a Raddi's wife was delivered of a daughter in the field outside the village, where she had carried her husband's midday meal. A hut was improvised for her accouchement, and after it was over, her husband's elder wife out of envy contrived that she and her child should be regarded as outcasts. The father gave all his lands and agricultural implements to the progeny of the other wife, and left to these a drum, a pole and a rope. They had to earn their living with these implements alone and learnt acrobatic feats. No one would marry a girl playing in public on a pole, and so the daughter called Dombara Chinnasáni became a prostitute. This is said to account for the practice of dedicating prostitutes which is largely prevalent in the caste.

\* The doggerel appended seems to allude to this tradition, namely, "ಹಿಂಗಾಣ್ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಬಾವಿನಿಂಟೆ ಬೈಟವಟ್ಟ, ಮುಂಗಾಣ್ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ವಾಳ ಪಾಡಾಲು ನಾಡಪಡ" that is 'with a backward bound (somersault) he came out of the well and with a forward bound (somersault) he fell to their feet.'

A Dombar performer often begins his exhibition with the following invocation :--

ಕಾವೋಡು ಕನತಂದಿ,  
 ದೇಶವೋಡು ಪಿನತಂದಿ,  
 ಸಾಲಕೂ ಮೂಲಕೂ  
 ತಗುಮೈನ ಕೊಡುಕು ನೇನು.

That is, the Kápu is the begetting father, the Désa man, an uncle, and I am the fit son\* of the Sála and Múla (that is right and left hand people).

Dombars are said to be allied to Lambánis, a statement which perhaps is founded on the legend of Móla, the ancestor of the Lambánis having exhibited gymnastic feats before kings. It is reported that there is a section of Dombars, who are also itinerant Dombars, but distinguished from the rest in swinging a child to and fro by a rope passed round its waist while performing feats on the pole.

The Dombars found in the State are entirely of Telugu origin and appear to have come from the Nellore and the Ceded Districts of the Madras Presidency. They say their original place was Dombara Maddalapuram (ದೊಂಬರ ಮದ್ದಲಾ ಪುರಂ) in the Telugu country. During the time of the Vijayanagar Empire, they appear to have been the court acrobats, and many of this caste are still said to hold Inams in the Telugu country, in places like Jammalamadugu, Tadipatri, Poddutur, Gudamacherla. They spread into Mysore Territory in later times after the disappearance of that kingdom.

All Dombars found in this State speak Telugu. Aré Dombars who speak Mahratti are rarely seen here. Mahomedans who follow the profession of acrobats and wrestlers are known as Pailwans, but they have no connection with the Telugu or Mahratti Dombars. The Telugu Dombars have a dialect which is used only among themselves. A few examples are given in the Appendix A.

\* Accounts differ as to, to which section of the Kápu Raddis the original ancestor belonged. Some say Kodati Rad̥̥i, some Pákanátis, some others Sajjana Rad̥̥is and so on, the section of the Raddis which they claim being that of the Rad̥̥is who are found in largest numbers in or about the place where the informants reside. This becomes not of much importance when we remember that all the Raddis were originally of one tribe and the sections named are the endogamous division of the main caste Raddis.

## Divisions.

The Telugu Dombars who are also known as Raddi Dombars are divided into two sections, the settled (Uru Dombars-*అరుదోంబరు*) and the nomadic (Kádu Dombars-*కాడుదోంబరు*), which are endogamous. The wandering Dombars eat in the houses of the settled, but not *vice versa*. They seem to be subject to no exogamous restrictions; nor is any trace seen of hypergamy. But they have all of them, whether settled or nomadic, some sub-divisions which are neither endogamous nor exogamous, but which seem to be based on territorial or other distinctions. A list of these is given in Appendix B.

## Birth ceremonies.

The Dombars observe no ceremonies when a woman is pregnant. When living in villages, her parents bring the woman to their house for the first delivery; but wandering families naturally leave them where they are. During confinement, the mother and the child are kept apart in a separate hut or room, and the treatment of the patient is generally the same as in other castes. She is kept warm, laid flat on a cot of coir rope and is given some arrack and other stimulating drugs. On the second day, a pit is dug in the verandah or in front of the hut in which the after-birth and the navel string are buried, and a fowl is killed on the spot. On the third day the mother is given some chicken broth. On the 5th, the 7th or the 9th day the child and the mother are bathed. Castemen are given a dinner, and the child is put into a cradle which, for the wandering Dombars, consists of a cloth swung like a hammock between two posts or on branches of trees. The maternal uncle ties the waist thread (*వలకాడు*) to the child, whether male or female. The midwife is taken that evening to a toddy shop where she is liberally entertained. The custom of consulting the soothsayer for giving a name to the child is very common.

The names of individuals are generally the same as those used by other castes of similar status, Mára (*మారా*) and Mári (*మారి*), Yalla (*యల్లా*) and Yalli (*యల్లి*), and Sunka (*సుంకా*) and Sunki (*సుంకి*) being common. Hanumanta (*హనుమంత*) is a popular name as connoting strength and prowess. The names most common for women who lead an unmarried life are Chinni (*చిన్ని*), Lachmi (*లక్ష్మి*) and Venkaṭi (*వెంకట*). They sometimes style children Gáliga (*గాలిగ*, wind or spirit), to appease the spirit that they believe to have made children in the family die. When frequent deaths of children occur, they make a vow and name the surviving child after a family or local god.

Tonsure is performed for male children in the first or the third year after birth, either a barber or the child's maternal uncle cropping the hair. Then an *ede* (ಎಡೆ) is kept in the names of the deceased ancestors and some caste people are invited to a dinner with toddy. 4

These men being generally poor, rarely practise adoption. Sometimes a boy from among near relations is brought by childless persons and they may celebrate the event by feasting the caste people. This, however, happens only in the settled class. When a man has only daughters, he generally keeps one or two of them unmarried, and they take the place of sons in the family, leading a life of free love. Prostitute women do not adopt girls as professional dancing women do. Adoption.

Polygamy is common. Dombars women play a very active part in household and other work, and so men either marry or keep as concubines more than one woman. It often happens that low class women of loose character, married, unmarried or widowed, take the opportunity of the visit of a troupe of Dombars to join them, and attach themselves to their party. Polygamy is unknown. Girls are trained, from infancy, to play on poles and such as become skilled in that art are not married, and lead a life of prostitution. Those who cannot be trained for such exhibitions only are reserved for marriage. It is not strange that in such a community, they almost never care to marry girls before puberty. Marriage.

There is nothing peculiar as regards relations eligible for marriage. According to one account, it is said that a man may not marry the daughter of a sister who lives unmarried in her father's house, though such daughter may be married to his son. Two sisters may be married either by one man or by two uterine brothers. There is no objection to an exchange of daughters by marriage between two families.

The Dombars who have settled down in towns and villages tend more and more to adopt the marriage customs and ceremonies of the higher classes, such as consulting Brahmans and observing omens. Among the wandering section of them the marriage ceremony is very simple. They invite no pipers, use no Bhashinga or marriage chapel, nor worship any sacred pots (ಅವತರಕ). And sometimes they do not even put up a *chapra* or marriage booth. They only consult a soothsayer about the future prospect of a happy union.

When a girl is selected, the bridegroom's party accompanied by the headman of the caste or group proceeds to the bride's father's house to propose the match. The headman conducts the negotiation and if the parties agree, the match is determined upon. A few days afterwards, the bridegroom and his party, with the Yajaman and friends, go to the house of the bride-elect and the proposal is renewed before the assembly of the caste men by the bridegroom himself and the consent is given by the bride's father. The fact is announced by the Yajaman who proclaims that this man's daughter has been given to this man's son. Then one of the caste men beats a drum (ಘಟ). Exchange of *timbūlas* (betel-leaves and arecanuts) is made between the parties, and the bridegroom's party supply toddy at their expense to the whole assembly. This is called the ceremony of arecanut and betel-leaves (ವತ್ಸಾ ಕುಟಾಸ್ತ್ರ ಮು). At this meeting, half the bride-price has to be paid down, but if the bridegroom's party is very poor, some less amount is paid as earnest money. This makes the contract binding; and if the bride's party should afterwards break it, not only has this money to be paid back, but the promise breaker has to pay a heavy fine to the caste. Among the wandering section so strict is the caste discipline that the bride's father who breaks the promise is dragged before the caste assembly which is specially called together, and made to carry a grinding stone and walk round and round the assembly. If, however, the father of the bridegroom withdraws from the contract, he only forfeits the money already paid by him. On the completion of this preliminary ceremony, the marriage may take place either immediately or after some time has elapsed.

Among the settled Dombars who are found only in a few places in the State, it is the custom to arrange for a number of marriages being celebrated together, and to proceed to their Kattēmane (ಕಟ್ಟೇಮನೆ) which is Tumkur, to celebrate them, before the temple of their tribal goddess Yallamma (ಯಲ್ಲಮ್ಮ) and under the supervision and guidance of their caste headman. If, for any good reason, the marriage has to be performed at the place of either party, the caste headman or his representative must be sent for. In such cases the marriage comes off generally in the house of the bridegroom and continues for three days.

On the day previous to that fixed for the marriage, the bride and her party arrive at the bridegroom's village and are lodged in a separate house or hut. A pandal with

only five pillars is erected, the central or the milk-post being a twig of a *Nerale* (ನೀರಲೆ - *Eugenia jambolana*) tree, brought by the bridegroom's maternal uncle. In the pandal the bride and the bridegroom are separately seated on pounding rods (ಒನಿಕೆಗಡು) and are smeared with turmeric. Then their gods, Sunkalamma (ಸುಂಕಲಮ್ಮ), Gurumúrti (ಗುರು ಮೂರ್ತಿ) and Yallamma (ಯಲ್ಲಮ್ಮ) are set up in the pandal and worshipped by the Yajaman with offerings of food and toddy. The bridal pair prostrate themselves before the gods and touch the feet of the elders to obtain their blessing. In the evening, the bride and the bridegroom are seated together and make *púja* to two *kalasas* set up before them. This is followed by feasting and drinking.

Next day early in the morning, the bride gets her nails pared, and the bridegroom shaves his face and has his nails also pared. If no barber is available, the maternal uncle performs the service and gets a *támbúla*. Then the boy and the girl are made to sit face to face on two pounding rods and are bathed and are then made to dress themselves in fresh clothes. The bride carrying some rice and fruits packed in her garments is led along with the bridegroom to the marriage pandal, the boy holding a dagger rolled up in a kerchief. They sit facing each other on two pounding rods and between them are placed, in a plate, the *kankanas* (wrist threads,) *tíli* (the marriage disc), five toe-rings, with dry cocoanut and other articles. The bride then puts one of the toe-rings on the second toe of the bridegroom's right foot, and a married woman puts the remaining rings on the bride's toes. Then each ties on the right wrist of the other, the *kankanas* which are made of woollen and cotton threads twisted together and a betel-leaf tied to them. In some places the *kankana* is bound by the respective uncles of the bridal party or by one of the elders of the caste. The *tíli* is handed round in the assembly and then put on the bride's neck by the bridegroom while women sing songs. A drum is sounded and a boy proclaims that the marriage has been completed.

All those in the assembly pour milk (the *Dháre*) on the hands of the couple joined together; *talabálu* or the throwing of rice on each other's head follows. The pair holding each other by the right hand go round the milk-post thrice and then go to offer cocoanuts to the gods. On returning they again sit on pounding rods and pour into each other's hands, some milk which they drink up. This part of the



ceremony they call milk-union (ಮಾಲುಧಾರ \*). Támbúlas are then distributed to all the assembled, the headman and his deputy being given each two. The couple and some relatives on each side sit together and eat *Buvvam* (ಬುವ್ಯಂ) from the same dish.

On the morning of the third day called Nágavali, the newly married couple get their nails pared, and bathing and putting on fresh clothes go to an anthill, in state. They pour milk into the snake holes and make púja burning incense and offering fruits and flowers. The bride carries on her head a small quantity of earth dug out of an anthill; and the pandal posts are worshipped after their return. In the afternoon after dinner the púja of Simhásana † takes place. The Yajaman of the caste who is of the Maṭli (ಮಟ್ಟಿ) sub-division among the wandering section and of the Sómalaráju (ಸೋಮಲರಾಜು) sub-division, among the settled, officiates at this ceremony, when támbúlas are distributed to the members present, who are scrupulous in exacting that the prescribed order of precedence is observed. That evening the milk-post is removed after the usual púja, and the caste men and the bride's party are given a special treat, a large quantity of toddy being consumed.

Tera or bride-price is Rs. 52. This is paid either at once or in easy instalments. The settled section have, however, reduced the sum to Rs. 24 which they generally pay down at the time of marriage. Sometimes when the girl's parents are in good circumstances, the payment is remitted either partly or in full. But the wandering Dombars are very strict in enforcing the payment. If the bridegroom is too poor to pay, he has to work for his wife's parents till he discharges the debt. If he evades payment, his wife is not sent to his house at all and sometimes is married to another man, who may be able to pay the amount. It is stated that if the wife goes to her husband's house, before the *tera* is discharged against her father's consent, she is never again admitted to the latter's house. The obligation could be enforced by coercion at a caste panchayati, and some accounts say that even after the man's death, his property would remain liable to discharge it. Formerly among the wandering Dombars when a girl was married, the son-in-law had to live in his father-in-law's house, in a separate hut till a child was born. This practice, however, has fallen into desuetude.

\* Pledging truth on milk is considered as the most solemn form of taking oath.

† See the account of the Béda caste, page 9.

The marriage expenses are quite out of proportion to the poor condition of the caste as a whole. During the period of marriage, five to ten pigs are killed to feed the guests and more than 15 rupees is spent in toddy, and drunken brawls among the assembled guests are frequent. The expenses are shared by both parties, but the bridegroom's party contribute the larger share.

When a girl attains puberty, a separate shed is put up Puberty. with date mats and green leaves and she is kept there for seven days, during which time she is considered to be impure. The girl is made to sleep there alone, an old woman being told off to sleep outside the shed to keep watch during the period. The girl is fed on good and nutritious food consisting of dry cocoanut, ghee, gingelly, fried Bengalgram and jagory in addition to the ordinary fare. In the evenings, married women give her turmeric powder and *kumkuma*. It is considered inauspicious for any one to see this girl for the first time early in the morning. On the 8th day in the morning, the shed is pulled down by the maternal uncle who throws away the materials at a distance from their residence, where the girl sets fire to them. Among the nomadic section, the girl's glass bangles are broken and the string of glass beads (ಕುಂಕುಮ) is also removed. The clothes worn by her during the period are also burnt in the fire. She goes back wearing an old cloth, and is made to bathe near the house. While bathing she is made to change place three times, two potfuls of warm water being poured over her head, at each place. After bathing, she is given a new cloth to wear but is made to remain outside the house. A hen is sacrificed at the spot where the shed stood. That day, the girl has to take her food outside the house. She bathes early the next morning and fasts till the evening; she has another bath then, and gets new clothes to wear. Then a party of married women take her to the temple of Anjanéya. The god is worshipped, and she is given *tirtha* or holy water. When she returns to the house from the temple, cow's urine is sprinkled on her head. In the house cooked rice is served in a heap on a plantain leaf or an eating dish, to which the girl offers *pūja*, burning incense and breaking a cocoanut. Then she touches the rice with her right hand. This rice is then served to the castemen who have assembled there by invitation. The father has to spend two or three rupees for toddy. The girl becomes pure after this entertainment.

**Widow  
marriage**

The settled Dombars do not allow remarriage of women who have lost their husbands. Among them a widow must remain chaste as long as she continues to reside in her husband's house. If she is found out to have been in criminal intimacy with any one, not only has she to answer a charge before the caste people, but the relations of her deceased husband are fined for her fault. To avoid any such contingency, as soon as a young woman loses her husband, she is sent back to her parent's house by her husband's relations. If she goes back to her father's house, she may become a concubine of any one. The wandering Dombars, on the other hand, freely permit a widow to remarry as many times as she pleases, and there is nothing derogatory in her doing so.

The man selected must not be the brother of her deceased husband and must not be within the prohibited limits of relationship. The ceremony which is the same as in other castes among whom widow marriage is allowed, takes place in the evening and before her father's house. A bachelor may marry a widow, but it is generally a widower, or a married man who wants to have an additional wife that takes her. In the presence of the caste men assembled, he presents her with a white *sire*, and when she is dressed in it, ties a turmeric root in a string to her neck as a *tali*. The jewels which her previous husband might have given her are all returned and the consent of the people of her husband's party is generally taken. The woman loses all her claim to her previous husband's property and the children by him belong to his family. The essential and the binding portion of the marriage is the tying of the turmeric root.

The *tera* or bride-price to be paid is half that payable for a regular marriage, but sometimes even so low a sum as ten or fifteen rupees is accepted. It goes not to the previous husband's family as is the case in some castes, but to the father of the woman, a nominal payment which may be only of a betel-leaf, being sometimes made to the former husband's family. In fact, soon after the death of the husband, his widow, if there is any prospect of her marrying again, goes back to live in her father's house. The consent of the father is first obtained by the man that proposes to wed her. It is also necessary that the caste men should assent to the match, their representative, the Yajaman being formally consulted in the matter. Besides the *tera*, the man has to pay a fine to the caste, give them a dinner and bear the expenses of toddy for the day.

Divorce is allowed at the instance of either party. The marriage tie is so loose that even a small pretext, such as an occasional quarrel, or other incompatibility of temper, will bring on separation. In such cases, before the assembled caste men called together for the purpose, the parties state their unwillingness to remain as man and wife, on account of the ill-treatment of the husband, unchastity on the part of the woman or any other cause, and the relationship is severed when the wife is made to return the *tāli* to the husband. The party that is found to be at fault is fined the cost of a dinner with toddy to the caste people. The woman so divorced is, in the case of wandering Dombars, at liberty to marry another, in which case the latter will pay the marriage expenses incurred by the former husband.

Divorce.

Adultery with a man of the same or of a higher caste is condoned by payment of a small fine, and if the husband is willing, he may keep her. If a married woman elopes with a man of the caste, a fine equal to the marriage expenses of the husband is levied and the woman is married to him under *kutiye* form. She then becomes his legitimate wife and does not suffer in status. But if a married woman be guilty of adultery with a man of a higher caste, and the husband is not willing to take her back, the caste council levies some fine from her, gives her *tirtha* and makes her a \**kulam bidḍa* (ಕುಲ ಬಿಡ್ಡ, daughter of the tribe), a licensed prostitute.

Adultery.

If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant by a man of the same caste, she will be married to him and the full *teru* of Rs. 52 levied from him, in addition to some fine which always goes to the headman of the caste. If he refuses to marry her, he is outcasted and she is retained in the caste by the Yajaman giving her *tirtha*. She may be married to any man that offers to marry her, or she may be allowed to become a prostitute on payment of a small fine to the caste. If on the other hand an unmarried woman should bear children to a man of a higher caste, she and her children are subjected to some fine, and admitted into the caste after some expiatory ceremony. This ceremony consists in cutting a few locks of her hair, slightly burning the tongue with a bit of gold, making her swallow some *vibhūti* (sacred ashes) and getting her to beg pardon of the *guru* of the caste. She may thereafter marry any one of the caste or may become a prostitute, in which

\* See the Béja account, Monograph No. III, page 13.

case, she has to undergo the same ceremony of dedication as other girls do.

Dedication  
of Prostitutes.

The Dombar caste is notorious for dedicating girls as prostitutes, the reason they assign being that when they adopted the profession of playing on the long poles, a woman was taught the art as being likely to attract a larger and more appreciative audience, and as she thus became the object of attention of the public in general, she could not be married to any and was therefore to be left as a common woman. The practice is as common among the settled as among the wandering Dombars, though the former have long ceased to play on the pole. The wandering section select smart and good looking girls and train them up for athletic feats. Those who succeed in learning them remain unmarried and lead a life of promiscuity. A troupe of Dombars, without at least one prostitute among them is a rare thing. Such women take a prominent part in their exhibitions, and are rarely equalled in dexterity by their male coadjutors. When off the stage, they generally go about in fairs and other public places, so as to attract customers for the more objectionable part of their trade.

The dedication takes place when the girls come of age between fifteen and sixteen. On an auspicious day, the caste people assemble by invitation. The girl is bathed and dressed in new clothes and is seated on a pounding rod before the assembled caste men. Married women or prostitutes similarly dedicated besmear her with turmeric and *kunkuma*, put on *sáse* \* and fill her garment with cocoanut, rice and other lucky articles. On rising from her seat, she bows to the elders to receive their blessing, and is then taken in procession to a temple of Anjanéya or Yallamma, a man beating the drum (𑖑𑖦𑖟𑖞𑖳𑖳𑖳𑖳) and women singing songs. She gets *tirtha* from the *pújári*. Before the temple the caste men congregate, and the girl is seated in their midst on a pounding rod. She is again besmeared with turmeric and *kunkuma* and the maternal uncle ties a *táli* to her neck. Basavis or married women pour *sáse* on her. The girl bows to the caste men assembled and is then conducted home in procession. At home a good dinner is provided for the guests by the father who also pays for their entertainment in the toddy shop in the evening.

\* See account of the Koracha caste, Monograph No. VII, page 10.

The settled section of the community observe nearly the same ceremonies with slight variations at the dedication of a girl to this life. A measure filled with rice with a cotton thread wound round it is placed by her side to represent a bridegroom, when she sits in the temple at the time of the ceremony. *Sinhāsana pūja* takes place and the permission of the caste is given by the *Yajaman* to give her license to lead a life of prostitution.

The wandering section of the Dombars repeat the same ceremonies as are observed at the marriage, on a smaller scale, when the girl thus dedicated as a harlot, receives her first lover. The latter has to present her with new clothes and four rupees and they are provided with a new hut and a cot to sleep in. Basavis only take part in bringing them together and indecent songs are sung, while the girl and her paramour are seated on the cot. But the latter when not hardened often feels too bashful to submit to such public treatment, and then the girl alone sits during the time the Basavis sing songs, and he is allowed to smuggle himself in after all the women guests withdraw.

These public women are said to remain faithful to their protectors when kept as concubines. It is even asserted that they may be flogged and fined by the caste if they prove false. Such a woman may, however, be set free being given a parting *Támbúla* (ತಾಂಬೂಲ). A dedicated woman who does not enter into an alliance of a more or less permanent nature is free to consort with any man, provided he is not of a lower caste, such as Holeyá, Mádiga Náyinda (barber) or Agasa (washerman). Sometimes the Basavis get themselves branded with Vaishnava symbols of *Sankha* and *Chakra* and then their bodies may after death be carried and buried by *Dásaris*.

A Basavi who wishes to give up her life of prostitution may be married in the *kúti* form; she will not be allowed to perform acrobatic feats in public after this; and her children born before the marriage are left with her father.

The Dombars bury the dead. In some places, the corpse of a pregnant woman, or of one suffering from leprosy, is disposed of by heaping stones on it, at a spot near a hill (*kollu-séve* ಕಲ್ಲುಸೇವೆ stone service). The body is carried in a lying posture by hands among the wandering, and on a bier (ಬೆಟ್ಟು) among the settled Dombars. The chief mourner carries fire and a pot full of water, walking

Death  
ceremonies

before the procession. The body is buried with the head turned to the south and the chief mourner breaks the pot at the head side and sticks the firebrand in the ground there. The surviving widow breaks her bangles there and takes off her *tūli*. After washing their hands and feet in a water-course, the whole party repair to a liquor shop where a pot of toddy\* is kept ready for them. The chief mourner pours toddy on the hands of the carriers to wash, and hands over one or two jugs of it to each of them. Then all drink the toddy and the party return to the deceased's house with a jugful of the liquor. They look at a light burning on the spot where the deceased expired and after condoling with the family, the relatives return to their houses. At night, a ball of rice (cooked) mixed with curds, styled *jīva mudda* (ಜೀವ ಮುದ್ದ) is kept on fine sand spread at the place of death, with a little water and the jug of toddy. Early in the morning the next day, the spot is examined with great care to see whether the spirit of the deceased has visited the place and partaken of the refreshments, as indicated by any marks visible on the sand bed. Then the remaining rice, toddy and water are thrown on a green plant.

On the third day, they place offerings on a low platform of earth raised on the grave. Rice cooked with pork and such other things as the deceased was particularly fond of, not excluding snuff and tobacco, are laid on two plantain leaves as *ede* (ಎಡೆ) and frankincense is burnt, and the spirit is exhorted not to molest the survivors. The offerings are in the end given up to crows. Again on the eleventh day, the family members bathe and putting on washed clothes go to the grave-yard, where food cooked with meat is again offered.

A *tithi* (ತಿಥಿ) or feast of the dead is performed at the end of the month. On that day, all the members bathe, and renew the cooking earthen pots, throwing out the old ones as polluted. Their headman is invited to purify the house. In the central part of it, a *kalasa* is installed. New clothes are kept near it together with food and toddy. Incense is burnt, and a pig or sheep is sacrificed. A dinner is given to the caste men and they spend the whole night in drinking as if to drown their sorrow in liquor. It is after this that the death pollution is fully removed. Those of the caste who have the Vaishṇava symbols,

\* This is in some places bought by the caste men who give it to the chief mourner and his party by way of condolence.

Sankha and Chakra branded and who are called *Tirunamadháris* invite a Sátáni man to officiate at these ceremonies. The priest installs a Chakra and does púja to it both at the burial ground and at home, offering it large quantities of toddy which he distributes to them as *tírtha*, reserving a good quantity for himself.

They do not perform Sráddhas. On the New Year, Mahálaya new moon, and Gauri feast days, they offer new clothes in the names of all the deceased ancestors; but the wandering section rarely observe these ceremonies. If a wife has any troubles attributed to the molestation of the ghost of her husband's deceased wife, a *táli* consecrated in the latter's name is worn by her. They do not perform any additional ceremony for those who die of an unnatural death.

The settled portion of the caste are found in Tumkur, Manchenahalli in the Goribidnur Taluk (Kolar District) and in the Chiknayakanhalli Taluk (Tumkur District). These are all related to one another, and the other place where they are found in pretty large number is Kodikonda in the Hindupur Taluk of the Madras Presidency. Their dwelling houses are generally built apart from the quarters of the other castes and do not differ in character from other houses of people of a similar station in life. The wandering section always pitch their huts outside the villages, and part of the reason in both cases is that they tend pigs in large numbers, which would be an intolerable nuisance to neighbours, if they settled near the other castes. The huts of the wandering men are made of bent bamboos covered over with date mats, in the form and size of the tops of country carts; and they carry them from place to place on donkeys or oxen. They are generally too small for the family, which huddles itself close together to keep off the cold. The few things they possess such as the implements of their trade are thrown inside; but they keep their beasts of burden in the open, and provide a separate enclosure for their pigs. Their cooking is also done outside the huts. The prostitutes are provided with separate huts or rooms, so that they may entertain their visitors without attracting undue notice. Dombars generally move in gangs of ten or twelve families, under the leadership of an elderly member, and each settlement is guarded by watch dogs which keep excellent watch at nights.

Settlements



Social  
status.

The Dombars are low in social status. The wandering section eat at the hands of Vaddas and Bédas, but the settled people draw the line with the Bestas. Except Holeyas and Mádigas, no one eats in their houses. They eat the flesh of all kinds of animals, bats, cats, \* owls, rats, and bandicoots included. Some eat crows also; but beef and the flesh of monkeys and snakes are eschewed. The settled section have given up eating owls and bandicoots.

The Dombars are considered as impure to touch, though they are allowed to enter the outer apartments of the houses of the higher castes. Brahmins help them only to fix auspicious days and to discover whether a proposed match is agreeable to the rules of astrology, but they do not officiate at any religious or other ceremonies for them. Dombars are very hard drinkers, women and children being also addicted to the vice, and their camps are generally noisy and troublesome to those who live near at nights. They may draw water from the village well. The barber shaves them and pares their toe-nails and the washerman has no objection to wash their clothes. But as a matter of fact, the wandering Dombars have rarely any clothes to be put to the washerman, and the little washing that may be necessary they do themselves. They are allowed to enter the outer parts of the temples, but take no part in the ceremonies connected therewith. Their position in social rank is the same as that of the Korachas.†

Admission  
into the  
caste.

The Dombars freely admit recruits both male and female from any caste not lower than their own, as fixed by the test of commensality. Korachas are not admitted and it is said that Brahmins and others of the higher castes are also not admitted. The usual incentive for others to join the ranks of Dombars is the sexual passion for either sex. When a man, especially of a higher caste,

---

\* It is considered a great sin to kill a cat, but they say that the sin of killing is washed away by eating it.

(ಕೊಂದಲ್ಲಿ ಪಾಪ ತಿಂದಲ್ಲಿ ಜೋಯಿತು)

† It is said that the Korachas and the Dombars were formerly related as brothers. Once upon a time when both were in need of a bride, they began to bid for the same girl by gradually increasing the bride-price. Dombars brought up the price to 20 pagodas and stopped there, while the Korachas increased the bid to 25 pagodas, and carried away the Girl. Ever since they have been separated into two rival groups.

is blinded by his passion for a Dombar prostitute and offers to join their society, she generally dissuades him at first. He is taken into the fold only if he proves intractable. The headman and other members of the caste assemble at the hut of the convert who is again given a chance to retract. If he is firm, he has to shave his head, beard and mustachios clean, and after bathing, is taken with the wet clothes on to the temple of Yallamma. He is purified by having his tongue slightly branded with a piece of heated gold, and with swallowing Panchagavya\* and the *Pijāri* sprinkles some *tīrtha* on his head, and gives him a spoonful to drink. He feeds the castemen and removes the leaves himself† after dinner; he has also to supply them with drink that evening. Besides, a money contribution has to be paid to the temple of the tribal goddess, and the Yajaman who has given the sanction has to be presented either with money or a pair of cloths, or some other thing of value. If the person that is admitted is a woman, her paramour bears all the cost. He cannot put off the event indefinitely and should there be any unreasonable delay, he is excommunicated. Admission into the caste in this manner makes a man as good a member of the caste as if he had been born in it. He labours under no disability and the issue born of his connection with the Dombar woman are legitimised.

Caste organisation.

Dombars have a tribal organisation to enquire into and punish infractions of caste rules. The rigidity with which these rules are enforced varies in the two sections. There is no doubt that these two sections formed one society and were under the same authority, but as one of them became settled, it seems to have formed its own councils which are quite independent of those of their parent stock. The Yajaman or the head of the settled Dombars is a man belonging to the Sómalarāju sub-division, and as these men form a compact community found in a few places only, his authority over them is effective. His office is hereditary. He resides in Tumkur, and when disputes arise, the parties generally go to that place to obtain his adjudication. When they cannot go, he goes to their place or sends his representative, and no important event can take place within the caste without his presence or that of his representative. It is for this reason that they generally perform many marriages together at once. They have another hereditary functionary called the minor yajaman or *kondikādu* (ಕಂಡಿಕಾಡು, beadle) who

\* See page 23 of the account of Komati caste Monograph No. VI.

† i. e., the leaves out of which they have eaten their food.

- acts as the convener of caste meetings and the headman's general assistant. On important and ceremonial occasions, they get an extra *tímbúlu* each; and when any caste dispute is decided, they get some honorarium, either payment of money or the presentation of a cloth. The Guru of the settled Dombars is a Srivaishnava Brahman, said to be a resident of Chelur in the Tumkur District. He visits them occasionally, gives them *tírtha* and *prasáda* (holy water and holy victuals) and is rewarded with some customary fees.

The wandering section, owing to their nomadic life, is broken up into a number of groups, each having its own Yajaman. The common head of this section is said to be a man of the *Matli* (ಮಟ್ಟಿ) sub-division and is styled *Matli Náyaḍu* (ಮಟ್ಟಿನಾಯಡು) who is regarded as having supreme jurisdiction over them both in spiritual and temporal matters. His head-quarters are in Chitvel in the Pullampet Taluk of the Cuddapah District. Formerly, this office belonged to the *Nátaḱaráyana* (ನಾಟಕರಾಯನ) sub-division, but one of the holders thereof lost the esteem of the community by his low behaviour. There was a dispute about his retaining this dignity, and the *Pályégár* (petty chief) of the place who was asked to decide it, hung up a \* *tórana* (ತೋರಣ) of the cocoanut kernels to the town gate, and ruled that the party which would succeed in throwing down the *tórana* by jumping over it, should have the headship. A boy of the *Matli* tribe who had been tending donkeys, succeeded in accomplishing the feat by taking a single somersault over the *tórana* and standing before the chief at another somersault. Thus pleased, the *Pályégár* passed an edict that he and his descendants should be recognised as the head of the caste. He also presented the boy with an inam of wet lands worth twelve *varahas* (pago-das) and a ring. This ring is still said to be in the possession of the present representative of this division, and to bear an inscription in Telugu, declaring that the wearer is the headman of all the Dombars "within the four seas." A person of the *Mannepala* (ಮನ್ನೇಪಲ) also styled *Gandhaparájula* (ಗಂಧಪರಾಜುಲ) division is the hereditary *Pradháni* (ಪ್ರಧಾನಿ) or the lieutenant of the Yajaman. The authority of these men is, however, only nominal, and many groups of wandering Dombars know their distant headmen

---

\* *Torana* (ತೋರಣ) is a string with green leaves or flowers or other articles tied to and stretched across an entrance as a decoration, and to denote an auspicious occasion.

only by repute. On marriage and other occasions, however, they allot the first two *tumbūlas* to these two functionaries.

For settling disputes that may arise, each wandering gang or three or four together elect among themselves a *Yajaman* and a *Buddhivanta* (ಬುದ್ಧಿವಂತ or Deputy), from the *Matli* and *Mannepala* families, if available. They meet periodically to settle disputes that may have accumulated in the interval and the disputants pay the cost of maintaining them. They have very wide powers, and the guilty person may be fined, flogged or put out of caste. They thus settle not merely caste disputes, but also property disputes, and these *Dombars* rarely resort to Courts. An outcaste is denied all intercourse with his relations and can secure his reinstatement only by obedience and payment of an additional fine.

The settled *Dombars* follow the Hindu Law of Inheritance. If a man dies leaving sons and Basavi daughters, each of the latter gets half as much as the share of each son. The caste Panchayat always allot some property to a destitute and widowed daughter. If at the time of the father's death a Basavi daughter has died leaving children behind her, the latter are entitled to the share of their mother. When a Basavi dies without issue, her property goes to her brothers and Basavi sisters in the same proportion as above mentioned. Inheritance

Among wandering *Dombars*, they have little need for rules of inheritance, as they rarely possess property to divide. The father is the sole owner of the few beasts of burden a family may possess and the other scanty articles. If, after his death, a partition is desired, the elders of the group meet and effect a partition.

All the *Dombars* whether settled or wandering, have great faith in sorcery, magic, omens, oracles, etc. Whenever they commence any important event, they consult the soothsayer or ask for a flower, as they style it, from their tribal deity. Religion  
and superstitions.

The name of their tribal god is *Gurumūrti* (ಗುರುಮೂರ್ತಿ) and their tribal goddess is *Yallamma* (ಯಲ್ಲಮ್ಮ). Like other wandering tribes, they also worship *Maramma*, *Sunkalamma*, and other malicious spirits. In recent years, they have been largely influenced, by the Vaishnava faith and many have undergone the branding of the symbols of that faith, namely, *Sankha* and *Chakra*, at the hands of the *Sātānis*

and undertake pilgrimages to Tirupati, the shrine of Venkatarāmanaswāmi, in the North Arcot District. In the quarters of the settled Dombars, when they contain sufficiently large number of houses, they invariably have a temple for Yallamma which they worship under the name (recently given) of Adi-Sakti (అదిశక్తి). They strongly believe that any neglect shown in the worship of this goddess is sure to bring on misfortune to their families. The Yajaman of the caste is the *pūjāri* and he worships the goddess on every Tuesday, making offerings of cocoanut, plantains and cooked rice. Once a year, on the Lunar new year's day, animals are sacrificed before this temple.

They periodically hold a grand feast in the name of Yallamma. On such occasions, the settled section all meet together in one place, generally Tumkur, but the nomadic section celebrate the worship when two or three groups happen to meet together at a place. The worship comes off on a Tuesday. On a spot cleaned with cowdung and water, six or seven pots of toddy are arranged in a row on planks laid thereon, the central pot being considered as representing the goddess. Margosa leaves and cotton thread dipped in turmeric are tied to each, turmeric paste and *kumkuma* being also applied to them. All the people of the caste assembled there take a bath and put on washed clothes. The Yajaman, who has observed fast the previous evening, also bathes and dressing himself with washed clothes supplied by the washerman, worships the pots with great reverence. All the people sit round with folded hands. Offerings of cocoanuts and flowers are made, and frankincense is burnt in large quantities. Then a number of sheep and goats are killed by the *pūjāri* after sprinkling *tirtha* (holy water) on them. The *Asādi* of the Mādiga caste, who has been invited for the occasion, sings the praises of Yallamma who takes possession of one of them. The toddy in the pots (except the central one), with more quantity added, if necessary, is distributed among all those assembled who get fully drunk. This revelry continues the whole night. Early the next morning, *mangalārti* (మంగళార్తి) is waved to the remaining pot and the liquor therein also distributed to all present as *tirtha*. This is followed by a general dinner.

When Sunkalamma is worshipped, an earthen pot filled with water is installed on a Tuesday under a tree, and before it on a plantain leaf, cooked rice and curds with

an onion are offered. Turmeric and *kumkuma* are put on the pot. No animal is killed.

Dombars worship a number of other minor gods and goddesses, such as Munisvara (ಮುನೀಶ್ವರ), Gurumúrti (ಗುರುಮೂರ್ತಿ), Máramma (ಮಾರಮ್ಮ) and Kortigeramma (ಕೊರ್ತೆಗೇರಮ್ಮ-a local goddess). Another peculiar goddess is known as Káluvaliamma (ಕಾಲುವಳಿಯಮ್ಮ). This is a goddess of epidemics and is believed to accompany travellers when they return from a long journey. To propitiate this deity, those who have just returned to the settlement repair to a grove and there set up three small stones under a tree and worship them with the offering of a fowl or a sheep. The sacrificed animal is cooked there and is eaten by the people attending the worship.

The characteristic profession of these men is the exhibition of rope-dancing and other acrobatic and athletic exercises. They show considerable dexterity in their feats, and many of their feats would bring credit to members of any ordinary circus troupe organised in much more elaborate fashion. The women especially are adepts in exhibitions on the pole or the tight rope. They play in the open maidan and make a collection at the close, the plate being taken round, for obvious reasons, by the most attractive member of the troupe. The collections may amount to anything up to 20 rupees according to the size of the place and the ability of the performers to please the audience. Sometimes they get presents of clothes. Their performances are not now so largely patronised as when there were no better organised circus companies going about the country. The want of finish and management interfere with the success of the *svadési* work in this as in so many other departments. The Dombars have a supply of blunt swords, scimitars, daggers and other antiquated arms which they exhibit on a cloth spread before the audience during the performance.

They make combs of various kinds of soft wood and sometimes of sandalwood or horn and vend them in villages and towns. It is said that a goldsmith paramour of a Dombar woman taught them the art, presenting her with the few instruments (saw, chisel and file) required for the work; and the Dombars show particular regard to goldsmiths as their patrons. It is chiefly the women that manufacture these articles and hawk them about in the streets.

Dombars are included among the criminal tribes and are placed under surveillance. They are credited with

daring and love of excitement. They obtain information of likely places for raiding through their women, and before embarking on any such enterprise, they invoke the aid of their goddess. They are also said to train their boys by an apprenticeship to this trade.\*

Dombars also breed pigs on a large scale which boys and women are employed to graze. Men engage themselves as day labourers in the villages near or about which they encamp, their women going about begging also. They are expert bird catchers, which they secure either by spreading snares or applying bird-lime (சரிகை) on their roosts.

The settled Dombars are almost all engaged in agricultural pursuits, the proceeds of which they supplement by comb making and pig breeding.

Miscellaneous.

Dombars are vindictive, and should they consider themselves ill-treated or slighted at any village they may have visited, or not sufficiently remunerated for their gymnastic feats, they take other steps to remunerate themselves at the expense of the inhabitants thereof. Men usually wear short hip-trousers made of coarse white cloth and styled *challana* (சல்லா), and sometimes after a series of successful forays or at festivals and when they give their performances, they put on gaudy shawls, jackets and laced turbans. These articles of dress are sometimes obtained as presents, but not infrequently by less legitimate means. Another characteristic part of their dress is the cotton waist band (செருப்பு) of black colour ornamented with hanging tassels at either end. While performing, they tie this band round, pass it tightly between the legs and tuck up the ends at the waist. They wear a silver *tāli* (தாலி) with an effigy of Hanumanta engraved on it suspended round the neck, silver bangles on the wrists and also silver rings.

The family women of the nomadic section, do not wear *ravike* (bodice) and put on glass beads profusely round the neck. The prostitutes are more civilised and their dress and ornaments are the same as those of other more respectable classes, the one ornament which distinguishes a prostitute from the rest being a silver bangle (சங்கு) which she wears round her left ankle.

Their women undergo tattooing, the operation being performed by a woman of the Korama caste. The designs

\* Notes on the Criminal Tribes of the Madras Presidency-Mullaly.

are the ordinary ones, but a prostitute has a streak (३०४) of tattoo on her forehead and if she is so disposed, gets a likeness of her favourite paramour tattooed on her arm.

It is reported that a section of the wandering Dom-bars do not eat food after they hear the sound of the jackals in the night and that like the Jains they have their evening meal before sunset.

---



## APPENDIX A.

Words, phrases, etc., in the Dombar dialect and their equivalents in English.

## NOUNS

Karuvu	...	ಕರುವು	...	(1) Hut (2) Village
Ganne	...	ಗನ್ನೆ	...	Toddy
Kowruganne	...	ಕಾರುಗನ್ನೆ	...	Arrack
Kavuru	...	ಕವುರು	...	News
Mesa	...	ಮೆಸ	...	Food
Pachcham	...	ಪಚ್ಚಂ	...	Dhall water
Tiluvu	...	ತಿಲುವು	...	Water
Tàdem	...	ತಾಡಂ	...	(1) Way (2) Door
Sirasam	...	ಸಿರಸಂ	...	Head
Vagatam	...	ವಾಗಟಂ	...	Mouth
Kivistaram	...	ಕೀವಿಸ್ತರಂ	...	Ear
Chattam	...	ಚತ್ತಂ	...	(1) Hand (2) A field
Páshtyam or pátimu..	...	ಪಾಷ್ಠ್ಯಂ or ಪಾಟಮು	...	Leg
Kanigam	...	ಕನಿಗಂ	...	Blood
Nerem	...	ನೆರೆಂ	...	Hair
Pattemu	...	ಪಟ್ಟೆಮು	...	Stomach
Abba	...	ಅಬ್ಬ	...	Father
Siragaḍu	...	ಸಿರಗಡು	...	Son (male child)
Pinka	...	ಪಿಂಕ	...	Daughter (female child)
Tobbirikam	...	ತೊಬ್ಬಿರಿಕಂ	...	(1) A man (2) Husband
Masa	...	ಮಸ	...	(1) Woman (2) Wife
Mandirènu	...	ಮಂದಿರೇನು	....	Wife
Dásimasariga	...	ದಾಸಿಮಸರಿಗೆ	...	A prostitute
Nerupam	...	ನೆರುಪಂ	...	Marriage
Pakyàlu	...	ಪಕ್ಯಲು	...	Rice (uncooked)
Kivulu	...	ಕೀವುಲು	...	Ragi

## APPENDIX A—contd.

Pattukondi	... ಪಟ್ಟುಕೊಂದಿ	... Paddy
Daipaḍam	... ದೈಪಪಂ	... Pestle
Kalastaram	... ಕಲಸ್ತರಂ	... Grinding stone or stone
Tegem	... ತಗೊ	... Rope
Nelastaram	... ನೆಲಸ್ತರಂ	... Ground
Malastaram	... ಮಲಸ್ತರಂ	... Tree
Bólistaram	... ಬೋಲಿಸ್ತರಂ	... A mat
Irupam	... ಇರುಪಂ	... (1) A hill ... (2) Wood
Elem	... ಎಲಂ	... (1) A leaf ... (2) Paper
Malem	... ಮಲಂ	... Rain
Nerupam	... ನೆರುಪಂ	... Sunshine
Dévarikam	... ದೇವರಿಕಂ	... (1) Light ... (2) God
Gontikam	... ಗೊಂಟಿಕಂ	... Arecanut
Elèmu	... ಎಲೇಮು	... Betel-leaf
Búrigyálamu	... ಬುರಿಗ್ಯಾಲಮು	... Tobacco
Telipem	... ತಲಿಪಂ	... Chunnam (lime)
Rettāni	... ರೆತ್ತಾನಿ	... Night
Kantīkam	... ಕಂಟಿಕಂ	... Brass vessel (ಚಂಟು)
Tattekam	... ತಟ್ಟಿಕಂ	... Cot
Kógilam	... ಕೋಗಿಲಂ	... Earthen vessel
Vātukoyyi	... ವಾತುಕೊಯ್ಯಿ	... A bag
Kenda	... ಕೆಂದ	... A cloth
Masagatakenda	... ಮಸಗಟುಕೆಂದ	... Woman's cloth (a sadi)
Sirasapukenda	... ಸಿರಸಪುಕೆಂದ	... Head cloth (turban)
Tuḍuvukenda	... ತುಡುವುಕೆಂದ	... Lip trousers
Netlakenda	... *ನೆಟ್ಟುಕೆಂದ	... Large cloth, a blanket
Gorapaḍam kenda	... ಗೊರಪಡಂಕೆಂದ	... Sheep cloth or coarse woollen blanket (ಕಂಬಳ)
Gorapaḍam menrem...	... ಗೊರಪಡಂಮೆರಂ	... A sheep

\* Netla means large or big.

## APPENDIX A—contd.

Elemgoddédi	... ಎಲಂಗೊದ್ದೇದಿ	... Eater of leaves a goat.
Kuike	... ಕೈಕೆ	... A dog
Naḍava or. Sikkanaḍava	ನಡವ or ಸಿಕ್ಕ ನಡವ	... A donkey
Neṭṭanaḍava	... ನೆಟ್ಟನಡವ	... A horse (a big donkey)
Baḍisam	... ಬಡಿಕಂ	... A cow or bullock
Dagarugoddédi	... ದಗರುಗೊದ್ದೇದಿ	... A buffalo (eater of night soil)
Mannigam	... ಮನ್ನಿಗಂ	... A pig
Lyuva	... ಲ್ಯುವ	... A fowl
Kásikam	... ಕಾಸಿಕಂ	... A cat
Chinna Narasigaḍḍu	... ಚಿನ್ನ ನರಸಿಗಾಡು	... A jackal
Neṭṭa Narasigaḍḍu	... ನೆಟ್ಟ ನರಸಿಗಾಡು	... A tiger
Jāyikam	... ಜಾಯಿಕಂ	... A sword
Nádamarupam	... ನಾದಮರುಪಂ	... A gun
Neṭṭa Irupam	... ನೆಟ್ಟ ಇರುಪಂ	... The pole
Minem	... ಮಿನೆಂ	... The stout rope for tying to the pole
Marupam	... ಮರುಪಂ	... Dombar paly
Gonḍelu or Gónelu	... ಗೊಂಡೆಲು or ಗೋನೆಲು	... Rupees
Biluvulu	... ಬಿಲುವುಲು	... Copper coins (ದುಡ್ಡುಗಳು)
Sirupalu	... ಸಿರುಪಲು	... Pies (ಕಾಸುಗಳು)
Bàgamgóné	... ಬಾಗಂಗೋನೆ	... Half a rupee
*Pink	... *ಪಿಂಕ	... Quarter of a rupee
Chintaginja	... ಚಿಂತಗಿಂಜ	... One anna (a tamarind seed)
Dondódu	... ದೊಂದೋಡು	... A shop keeper a Kómati
Suttetikádu	... ಸುತ್ತೇಟಕಾಡು	... A sliver smith
Gannódu	... ಗನ್ನೋಡು	... Idiga (toddy drawer)
Kogiláloḍu	... ಕೋಗಿಲಾರೋಡು	... A potter
Neráloḍu	... ನೆರಾರೋಡು	... Barber (man of the hair)
Kendaloḍu	... ಕೆಂದರೋಡು	... Washerman
Elikódu	... ಎಲಿಕೋಡು	... The patel
Tánangivàdu	... ತಾನಂಗಿವಾಡು	... (1) The shanbhog (2) A Brahmin

\* Also means a female child or daughter.

## APPENDIX A—contd.

Púródu	...	ಪೂರೋಡು	...	The tálari (watchman)
Lairódu	...	ಲೈರೋಡು	...	The tóti
Jódamódu	...	ಜೋಡಮೋಡು	...	A police constable
Gemma	...	ಗೆಮ್ಮೆ	...	A thief
Netlakaruva	...	ನೆಟ್ಟ ಕರುವೆ	...	Cutcherry or Police station (a big house)
Tatekam	...	ತಟಕಂ	...	(1) A tank (2) Train
Savarénainódu	...	ಸವರೇನೈನೋಡು	...	A wiseman
Sonapam	...	ಸೋನಪಂ	...	Jewels
Túparam	...	ತೂಪರಂ	...	Bangles
Netlóllu	...	ನೆಟ್ಟೊಲ್ಲು	...	Big men or king
Netlabidimódu	...	ನೆಟ್ಟ ಬಿದಿಮೋಡು	...	Guru or king
Mundarajampa	...	ಮುಂದರಜಂಪ	...	Somersault (ಮುಂಗಾಣಿ)
Lenkátam	...	ಲೆಂಕಾಟಂ	...	do (ಹಂಗಾಣಿ)
Jarikam	...	ಜಾರಿಕಂ	...	Shoe
*Gontikam	...	ಗೊಂಟಿಕಂ	...	Horn of a bullock
Gabbidi	...	ಗಬ್ಬಿಡಿ	...	A pregnant woman
Adimódu	...	ಅದಿಮೋಡು	...	He

## NUMERALS.

Ojogaṭi	...	ಒಜೋಗಟ	...	One
Nainam	...	ನೈನಂ	...	Two
Súlam	...	ಸೂಲಂ	...	Three
Maggam	...	ಮಗ್ಗಂ	...	Four
Chattam	...	ಚತ್ತಂ	...	Five (fingers of the hand, the latter being called 'chattam)
Kyàsàru	...	ಕ್ಯಾಸಾರು	...	Six
Gópáram	...	ಗೋಪಾರಂ	...	Seven
Nainam maggálu	...	ನೈನಂ ಮಗ್ಗಾಲು	...	Eight (two fours)
Ojogaṭi vaidu	...	ಒಜೋಗಟವೈದು	...	Nine or 1 less (then ten)

\*It also means Arecanut.

APPENDIX A—*contd.*NUMERALS—*concl'd.*

Gachchakáyi	....	గచ చాయీ	....	Ten
Do	Ojogaṭi	....	దివో ఒజోగట్	Eleven (ten & one)
Do	Iggénu	....	దివో ఇగ్గేను	Twelve
Do	Súlam	....	దివో సలం	Thirteen (ten & three)
Nainamgachchakáyi	....	నైనంగచ్చకాయీ	....	Twenty (two times ten)
Súlam	do	....	సలం దివో	Thirty (three times ten)
* Netṭa gachchakáyi	....	నేట్ల గచ్చకాయీ	..	Hundred (big ten)

## VERBS.

† Netṭumáḍipilu	....	నేట్టుచూడిపిలు	....	To bow (నమస్కార ముడు)
Sáyichehu	....	సాయీచ్చు	....	Come
Pàrigilu or óḍigilu	....	పారిగిలు or ఒడిగిలు	....	Run
Suniya or Sonchu	....	సునియ or సొంజు	....	Go
Kàvu	....	కావు	....	Go
Pimmu	....	పిమ్ము	....	Give or keep
Kédu	....	కేడు	....	Ask
Bávalichehu or much- chipillu	....	బావలిచ్చు ముచ్చి పిల్లు	....	Hide or conceal
Nabbinamu	....	నబ్బి నము	....	Hide or reside
Máripilu	....	మారిపిలు	....	Sell
Ituko	....	ఈతుకో	....	Take or buy
Killuko	....	కిల్లుకో	....	Lie down or sleep
Ettipilu	....	ఎత్తి పిలు	....	Get up or rise
Karinchu	....	కారింజు	....	Kill
Karaṭe	....	కరటి	....	Died
Daipu	....	దృపు	....	Beat
Kaipu	....	కౌపు	....	Eat
Yájiniku	....	యాజీనికు	....	Withdraw
Suṭṭavillu	....	సుట్టవిల్లు	....	Burn
Marugu	....	మరుగు	....	Join
Baddichehu	....	బద్దిచ్చు	....	Know or understand
Sondāyipu	....	సొందాయీపు	....	Send away

\* They have no words for numbers above one hundred.

† The ending *pilu* used largely to convert *nouns* into *verbs*.

APPENDIX A—*contd.*VERBS.—*concl'd.*

Karipilu	...	ಕರಿಪಿಲು	...	Receive
Nabbadu	...	ನಬ್ಬಡು	...	Is not or no

## CLAUSES.

Gemmalichchu	...	ಗೆಮ್ಮಲಿಚ್ಚು	...	To steal
Párigilatádu	...	ಪಾರಿಗಲತಾಡು	...	He runs
Sáyistádu	...	ಸಾಯಿಸ್ತಾಡು	...	He comes
Karuvukávu	...	ಕರುವುಕಾವು	...	Go into the hut or village
Pattemu sutṭa viltadi	...	ಪಟ್ಟಮುಸುಟ್ಟಿ ಎಲ್ತಡಿ	...	I feel hungry (my stomach burns)
Tiluvukaipu	...	ತಿರುವುಕ್ಕುಪು	...	Drink water
Mesakaipu	...	ಮೆಸಕ್ಕುಪು	...	Eat food
Yádelipitiki sonche	...	ಯಾದೆಲಿಪಿತಿಕಿನೊಂಚೆ	...	Went out
Adikku nabbinamu	...	ಅದಿಕ್ಕು ನಬ್ಬಿನಮು	...	We live that side
Adimódikelle	...	ಅದಿಮೋಡಿಕಲ್ಲೆ	...	Fell down to the ground
Máripilatádu	...	ಮಾರಿಪಿಲತಾಡು	...	He sells
Neṭlasiraga ayyindi	...	ನೆಟ್ಟಸಿರಗಾಯ್ತೆಂದಿ	...	She has attained puberty (she has become big child)
Tobbirikam sáyistadi	...	ತೊಬ್ಬರಿಕಂ ಸಾಯಿಸ್ತಾಡ್ತಿ	...	Marriage consummation takes place
Dànni pimmukonnádu	...	ದಾನ್ನಿ ಪಿಮ್ಮುಕೊನ್ನಾಡು	...	He has kept her
Pillaggávirī	...	ಪಿಲ್ಲಗ್ಗಾವಿರಿ	...	He was (arrested and) taken away
Pachchéga	...	ಪಚ್ಚೇಗ	...	Let us go
Ejam nabbadu	...	ಏಜಂನಬ್ಬಡು	...	There is not anything
Adimódu sádénabbadu	...	ಅದಿಮೋಡುಸಾದೇನಬ್ಬಡು	...	He did not come
Rettániki sáyistànu	...	ರೆತ್ತಾನಿಸಾಯಿಸ್ತಾನು	...	I shall come this night
Adimónidagḡira gávu	...	ಅದಿಮೋನಿಡಗ್ಗಿರ ಗಾವು	...	Go to him & he will give you four rupees
maggam grónelu	...	ಮಗ್ಗಂಗೋನಲು	...	
pimmutádu.	...	ಪಿಮ್ಮುತಾಡು	...	

## APPENDIX A—concl'd.

## CLAUSES—concl'd.

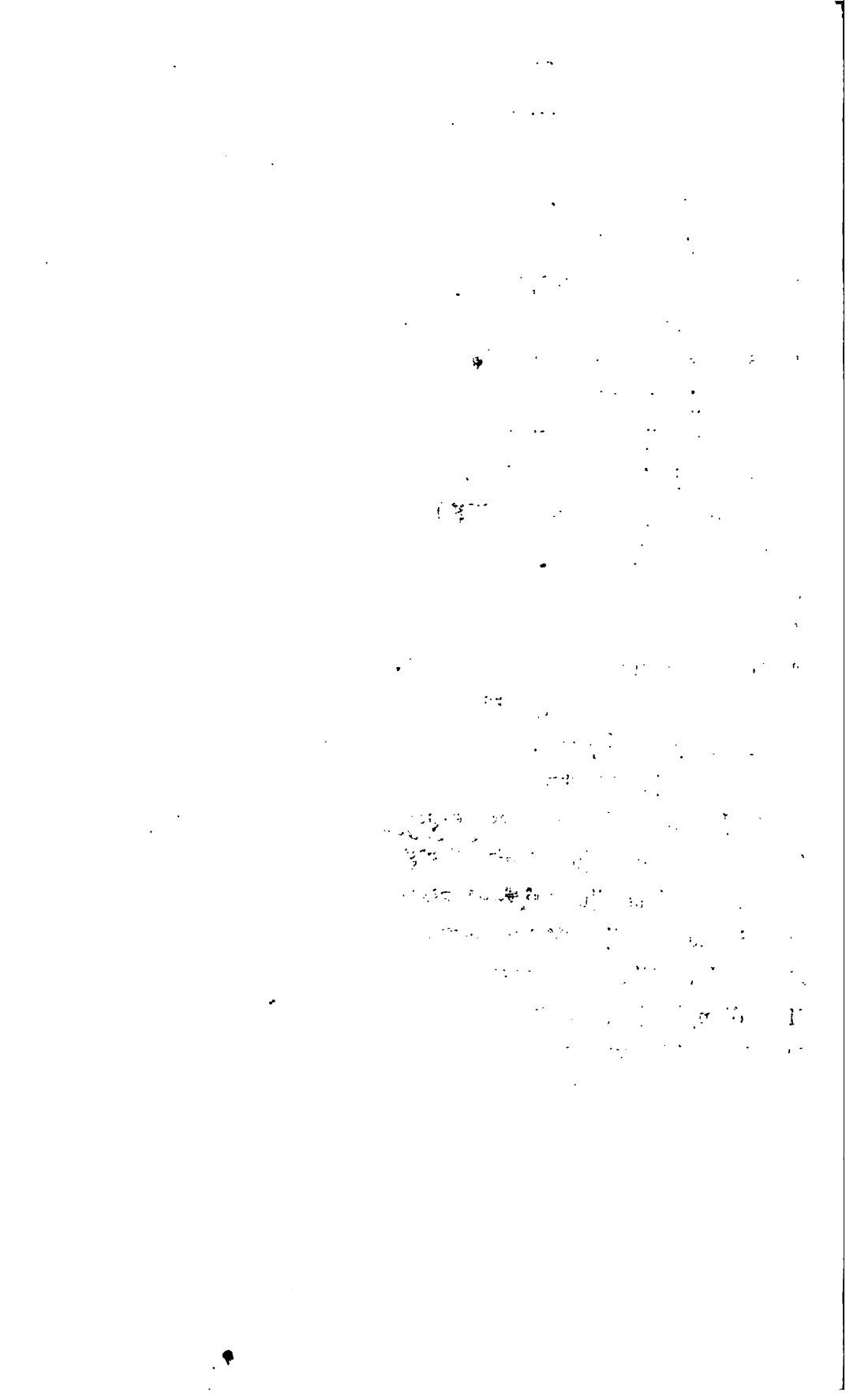
Elem dadaputádu ...	ಎಲೆಂ ದಾಡಪುತಾಡು ...	He writes
Pátemulo daiputádu ...	ಪಾಟೆಮುಲೊಡೈಪುತಾಡು.	He kicks
Vandla karuvulo nera- pam outundi mesapu- táru sonchu.	ವಾಂಡ್ಲ ಕರುವುಲೊ ನೆರವ ಮುಟಿತುಂದಿ ಮೆಸಪುತಾ ರುಸೊಂಚು	Marriage takes place in their house, go they will give you food
Iddaru sáyistáru oganni karipiluko oganni sondáyipu	ಇದ್ದರು ಸಾಯಿಸ್ತಾರು, ಒಗೆ ನ್ನಿ ಕರಿಪಿಲು ಕೋ ಒಗೆ ನ್ನಿ ಸೊಂದಾಯಿಪು	Two persons are com- ing, receive one (into the hut) and send away the other
Nerupam pettutádi ...	ನೆರುಪಂಪೆಟ್ಟುತಾದಿ ...	Sunshine comes

## APPENDIX B.

List of sub-divisions of Dombars which are neither endogamous nor exogamous.

- 1 Aisarapóllu (ಎಸರಪೋಳ್ಳು).
- 2 Bhùpativállu (ಭೂಪತಿವಾಳ್ಳು).
- 3 Gandhapurájuvállu (ಗಂಧಪುರಾಜವಾಳ್ಳು).
- 4 Gópudàsuvállu (ಗೋಪುದಾಸುವಾಳ್ಳು).
- 5 Jattivállu (ಜಟ್ಟಿವಾಳ್ಳು).
- 6 Kaggadivállu (ಕಗ್ಗದಿವಾಳ್ಳು).
- 7 Kalabandivállu (ಕಲಬಂದಿವಾಳ್ಳು).
- 8 Kanakaraddivállu (ಕನಕರಡ್ಡಿವಾಳ್ಳು).
- 9 Káserupuvállu (ಕಾಸರುಪುವಾಳ್ಳು).
- 10 Kastùrivállu (ಕಸ್ತೂರಿವಾಳ್ಳು).
- 11 Kútaravállu (ಕೂತರವಾಳ್ಳು).
- 12 Mallepùvvaluvállu (ಮಲ್ಲೆ ಪುವ್ವಲುವಾಳ್ಳು).
- 13 Mannepulavállu (ಮನ್ನೆ ಪುಲವಾಳ್ಳು).
- 14 Matlivállu (ಮಟ್ಟಿವಾಳ್ಳು).
- 15 Muràrivállu (ಮುರಾರಿವಾಳ್ಳು).
- 16 Nadumulènivállu (ನಡುಮುಲೇನಿವಾಳ್ಳು).
- 17 Náṭakaràyanivállu (ನಾಟಕರಾಯನಿವಾಳ್ಳು).
- 18 Pallekondalavállu (ಪಲ್ಲೆ ಕೊಂಡಲವಾಳ್ಳು).
- 19 Sómalarájuvállu (ಸೋಮಲರಾಜವಾಳ್ಳು).
- 20 Sondùruvállu (ಸೊಂಡೂರುವಾಳ್ಳು).
- 21 Tólangivállu (ತೋಲಂಗಿವಾಳ್ಳು).
- 22 Uppuvállu (ಉಪ್ಪುವಾಳ್ಳು).





(Preliminary Issue.)

**The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

---

**XIV**

**KADU-GOLLAS.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

---

BANGALORE:  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS  
1908.

*Price 4 Annas.*

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the general principles of the theory of the structure of the atom. It is shown that the structure of the atom is determined by the laws of quantum mechanics, and that the structure of the atom is determined by the laws of quantum mechanics.

2. The second part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the general principles of the theory of the structure of the atom. It is shown that the structure of the atom is determined by the laws of quantum mechanics, and that the structure of the atom is determined by the laws of quantum mechanics.

3. The third part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the general principles of the theory of the structure of the atom. It is shown that the structure of the atom is determined by the laws of quantum mechanics, and that the structure of the atom is determined by the laws of quantum mechanics.

4. The fourth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the general principles of the theory of the structure of the atom. It is shown that the structure of the atom is determined by the laws of quantum mechanics, and that the structure of the atom is determined by the laws of quantum mechanics.

5. The fifth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the general principles of the theory of the structure of the atom. It is shown that the structure of the atom is determined by the laws of quantum mechanics, and that the structure of the atom is determined by the laws of quantum mechanics.

(Preliminary Issue.)

The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.

---

XIV

KADU-GOLLAS.

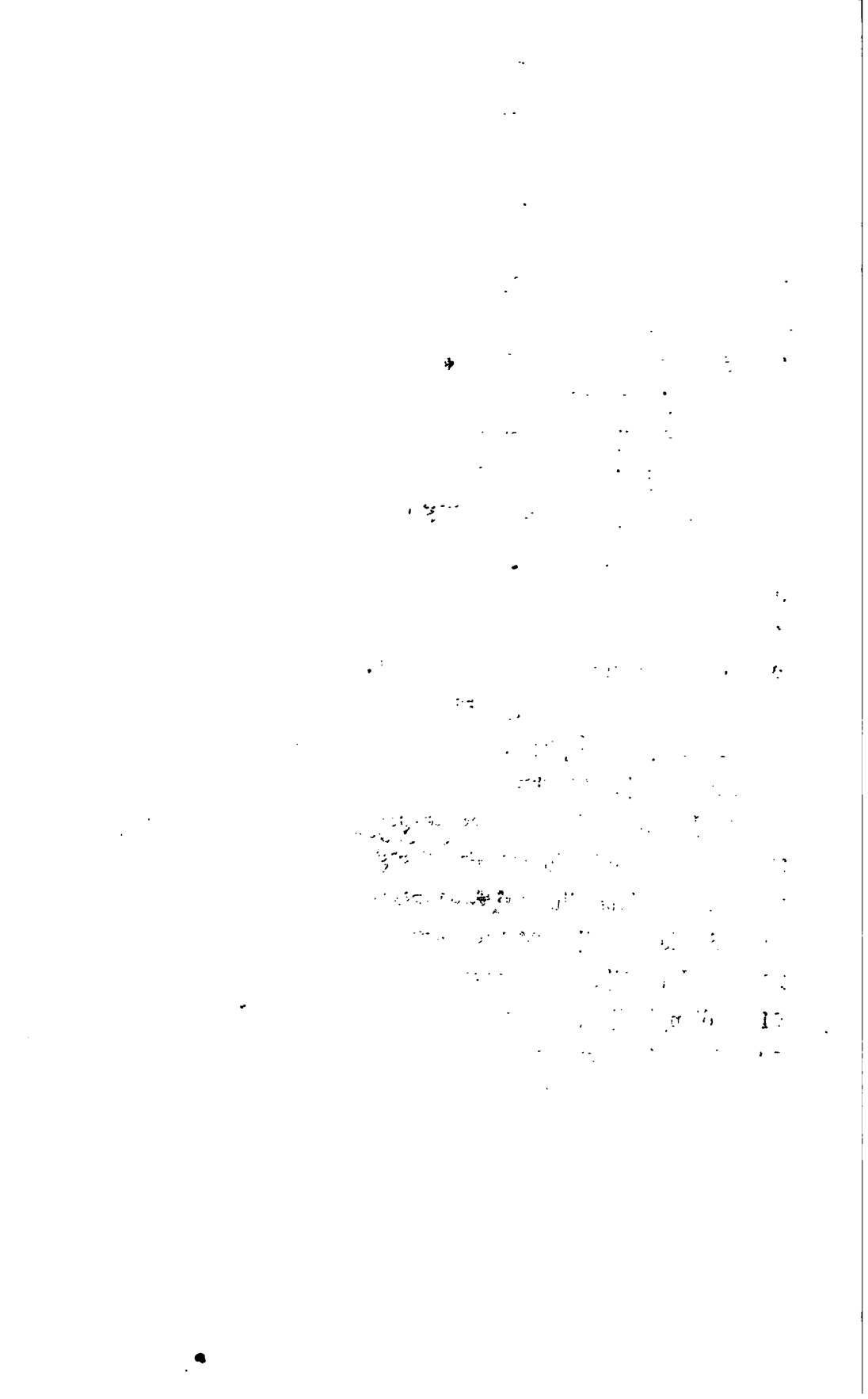
BY

H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A. M.L.

---

BANGALORE.  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS  
1908.

*Price 4 Annas.*



(Preliminary Issue.)

**The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

---

**XIV**

**KADU-GOLLAS.**

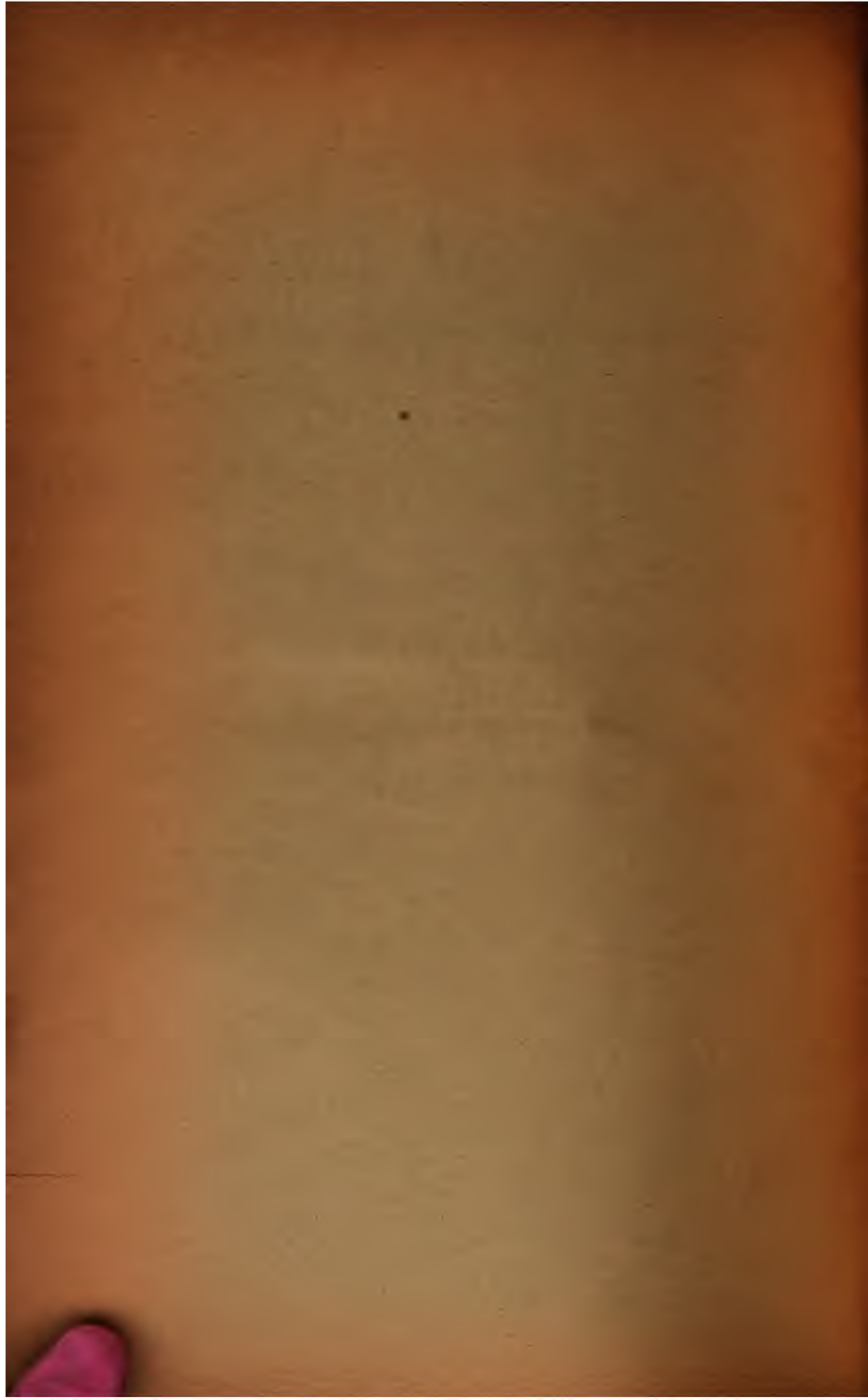
BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

---

BANGALORE:  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS  
1908.

*Price 4 Annas.*



(Preliminary Issue.)

**The**  
**Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

---

**XIV**  
**KADU-GOLLAS.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

---

BANGALORE:  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS  
1908.

*Price 4 Annas.*





## CONTENTS.

---

	PAGES.
Population ... ..	1
Name of the caste ... ..	1
Language ... ..	1
Origin ... ..	1
Endogamous divisions ... ..	2
Exogamous do ... ..	3
Birth customs ... ..	4
Marriage ... ..	5
Puberty ... ..	7
Widow marriage ... ..	7
Divorce ... ..	8
Adultery ... ..	8
Death and funeral ceremonies ... ..	8
Occupation ... ..	9
Dietary ... ..	9
Social status ... ..	9
Tribal constitution ... ..	10
Dwellings ... ..	10
Dress etc. ... ..	11
Implements ... ..	11
Amusements ... ..	11
Religion ... ..	11
Appendix (names of exogamous divisions) ... ..	15

---



## KADU-GOLLAS (ಕಾಡುಗೊಲ್ಲರು)

According to the Census of 1891,\* there were 21,820 individuals of this class, scattered in the districts of Bangalore, Tumkur and Chitaldurg. They differ very widely in habits and customs from the Uru-Gollas, though bearing a common name, and merit a separate treatment. Population.

Golla means a cowherd, and Kádu-Golla (ಕಾಡುಗೊಲ್ಲ) means a wild cowherd. They are so called as their dwellings are always erected outside a village, so as to command the view of waste or jungle land, capable of affording pasture for their cattle. They are also known as Kállì-Gollas (ಕಲ್ಲಿಗೊಲ್ಲರು), as their hamlets are usually surrounded by a hedge of the milkbush (ಕಲ್ಲಿ, *Eugeni tirukalli*). Name.

The names which they themselves use are Yádava-kuladavaru or Krishnakuladavaru (ಯಾದವ ಕುಲದವರು, ಕೃಷ್ಣ ಕುಲದವರು) as they believe that Krishna who was of the Yádava race was brought up among the women of their caste, known as Gópis. They also style themselves as people of Gó-kula (cow-tribe) either because they trace their origin to a cow, or they tend cows in pursuit of their professional occupation.

The caste titles which they affix to their names are Golla (ಗೊಲ್ಲ), Golla Gaúḍa (ಗೊಲ್ಲಗೌಡ) or Gaúḍa (ಗೌಡ).

They invariably speak Kannada in this State, and are said to have adopted the language prevailing wherever they settled, having no distinct language for the caste. Language.

Tradition states that their original place was Delhi and its neighbourhood, and that unable to suffer the persecution of the Mussalman rulers, their chief men migrated to the south. Two of them, Arimére Gaúḍa and Mére Rámé Gaúḍa remained together for a long while at a place called Ramanahalli, after which the former separated and went to a place called Uttaragutti. He had seven strong-limbed sons and seven handsome daughters, and amassed considerable wealth. The damsels attracted the attention of the chief of the place, Rámasúlivaraha,† who failing to obtain them by fair means, seized them by Origin.

---

\* They are not shown separately in the Census of 1901, being apparently included under Gollas.

† It is said that the gold coin known as Rama—ṭenke—varaha (worth about Rs. 25) was struck in his reign.

force when they had gone to sell milk and butter. Six of these damsels however escaped to their relatives, who then emigrated further south ; but their cousins, the descendants of Mére Rámé Gauḍa who had settled near Monadihalli, would not associate with them, as they had been separated for more than two hundred years. They had to move still further south, and after a weary time of wandering, settled in Mágaḍi in the Bangalore District.

They brought an idol of their deity called Chitra-dévaru from Delhi and consecrated it after holding an elaborate feast in its honour in this place. They spread to Ratnagiri, when one of their girls was married to a Rája of the place. The descendants of this union are called Kambera Gollaru and are looked upon as inferior to other Gollas. All this is stated to have occurred before 1271 of the Sáliváhana era. There were further migrations, and they mingled with various local tribes in the course of their wanderings and gave rise to many subdivisions.

Two of the subdivisions (Arinavaru and Merénavaru) of this caste are said to be the descendants of Golla girls who married two brothers of the Béda caste, Aré-ráya and Meré-ráya. Their father who was a freebooter was taken prisoner by a Béda chieftain and the girls who were seen to carry food to him by stealth, were prevailed upon to marry these lieutenants of the chief in consideration of their father's release.

Endoga-  
mons divi-  
sions.

Káḍu-Gollas do not mix in any respect with others who bear the same name such as Urugollaru, Ketṭa Haṭṭi Gollaru and Maddina Gollaru. Each of these divisions virtually forms a separate caste. The Káḍu-Gollas do not even allow people of the other Golla tribes into their hamlets as they drink freely and are supposed to be inferior in blood. Their hospitality can only go so far as to drop food into the hands of a guest of these tribes, from the other side of a hedge. The metallic vessels touched by the guest are cleaned with tamarind and cowdung before they can be used by them. Uru-Gollas, that is the Gollas living in towns are considered inferior on account of their indulging in intoxicant drinks. Ketṭa Haṭṭi Gollas (ಕೆಟ್ಟಹಟ್ಟಿಗೋಲರು) are so called as they are considered to have lost caste by mixing with those of a lower caste status. The Káḍu-Gollas carry their aversion to these so far as to avoid their very sight as inauspicious. Maddina Gollas (ಮದ್ದಿನಗೋಲರು) are those that sell drugs of forest produce.

The Kádu-Golla caste is made up of the three primary Exogamous  
exogamous septs known Chitta Muttóru (ಚಿತ್ತಮುತ್ತೂರು) Septs.  
also styled Karaḍi Gollaru (Bear tribe, ಕರಡಿಗೊಲ್ಲರು),  
Chandinóru (Moon tribe ಚಂದಿನೂರು) and Ramé Gaudana-  
kuladavaru (Ramé Gauda's descendants, ರಾಮಗೌಡನ ಕುಲದವರು).

Each of these is divided into subdivisions but all those  
belonging to one primary division are prohibited from  
marrying within that division.

Karaḍi Gollas (ಕರಡಿಗೊಲ್ಲರು) are so called as their an-  
cestor is believed to have been nourished by a bear.

These are in some places identified with Kambéra  
Gollaru (ಕಂಬಿರಗೊಲ್ಲರು). There is a story that a petty  
raja of Ratnagiri felt his dignity wounded when a goat  
reared by a golla had the audacity to graze on his ram-  
parts. For this grave offence he levied the penalty of the  
owner supplying a potful of milk ever after that to his  
palace. The gollas of this family are since known as  
Kambéra Gollaru and they all form a single exogamous  
sept which can contract relationship only with Arénóru.

Regarding Chandinavaru, (ಚಂದಿನವರು moon tribe) a  
confused story is given of a princess conceiving by associ-  
ation with the moon, and that the Gollas owe their origin  
to her. The girl being suspected of commonplace un-  
chastity, her father placed her in confinement, but he was  
convinced of her innocence in this respect by seeing that a  
cow carefully kept away from contact with bulls still  
brought forth a calf by the mere sound of a bull reaching  
her ears from outside. It is even stated that the princess  
and the bull-calf were sent to a jungle and together pro-  
duced two persons Chandamutti and Nándalkáṭamma who  
survived the deluge by hiding under the Góvardhana moun-  
tain. By the grace of Iswara, they became husband and  
wife and gave rise to two tribes of Gollas known after them  
as Chandamutti (ಚಂದಮುತ್ತಿ) and Chittamutti (ಚಿತ್ತಮುತ್ತಿ).

Huruli-yavaru (Gram tribe, ಹುರಳಿಯವರು) are those Gollas  
who do not eat nor touch gram. The priest or *yajman*  
belonging to this sept does not even pass through the field  
in which gram is grown; if compelled by necessity, he  
is to be carried over by those who do not belong to this  
sept.

A list of the exogamous septs is given in the Appendix.

Names of their septs are derived from the names of  
articles of common use or from the names of patron deities.

These family names are generally known only to the headman of each village, which often consists of families belonging to a single exogamous division.

Birth customs.

Childbirth is looked upon by Kāḍu-gollas with great fear as of some impending evil and extremely detested owing to anxious days the woman in childbed has to spend. When labour pains become apparent, she goes out furlongs off the hamlet to a part of the jungle where a shed of leaves and grass will be newly erected for the purpose. A woman of the Beḍar caste attends upon her as midwife. The mother is considered impure for three months after accouchement, the impurity decreasing in degree day by day. If any person touches her during this interval, he will catch the contagion and will have to remain outside for a similar period; and on the happening of such a contingency, the mother and her child will not be allowed to enter the house until they obtain the special permission of their deity. The yajman of the caste being supposed to be the trusted servant of the deity announces its decrees, learning them in his dreams or interpreting them by signs observed during worship. If the yajman is not trusted with God's judgments, a Brahman or a Sūdra soothsayer is consulted when the mother and the child may be taken to the hamlet. On the fourth day after having a bath, the woman removes herself to a new hut towards the village. On the ninth, fifteenth and thirtieth days, she similarly moves to new huts; and again once in each of the two following months. At the close of the period of three months, the mother with the child bathes and dressing herself in new washed clothes, goes to the village temple where the *pūjāri* touches their mouth with drops of milk of the dedicated sheep (*jennigékuri*, ಜನ್ನಿಗೇಕುರಿ)\*. Then the mother washes her hands seven times with cow's urine contained in a pit newly scooped out for the purpose.

Personal names.

They observe no ceremonies for the giving of names to children. The yajman of the caste coming in communication with the patron deity, directs that the child may be named after the name of the grandmother or by any other name. Personal names that are general among them are,

---

\**Jennigékuri* is marked out by three longitudinal cuts in its ears. It is supposed to be sacred and when any person touches it, he will have to wash his hands with cow's urine in front of the village temple dedicated to Junjappa, their deity. If a person wantonly touches it, he loses his eyes and if after swearing on it to tell the truth he utters falsehood, his family is ruined. All hamlets do not possess such sheep and when required they borrow it from others. On the death of this sheep, one of its male lambs is installed in its place.

Yarra (ಯರ್ರೆ)—Red  
 Kenda (ಕೆಂಡೆ)—Red  
 Kariya (ಕರಿಯ)—Dark  
 Kátayya (ಕಾಟಯ್ಯ)—Forest  
 Karadi (ಕರಡಿ)—Bear  
 Huliya (ಹುಲಿಯ)—Tiger  
 Manga (ಮಂಗೆ)—Monkey  
 Giriya (ಗಿರಿಯ)—Mountain  
 Mincha (ಮಿಂಚೆ)—Lightning  
 Junjappa (ಜಂಜಪ್ಪ)—Name of a deity  
 Kenjadiya (ಕೆಂಜಡಿಯ)—One having red locks  
 of hair

Chittayya (ಚಿತ್ತಯ್ಯ)—Name of an exoga-  
 mous division.

They give opprobrious names if the first born are dead. The practice of giving one name for everyday purpose and another for purposes of ceremonies does not exist among them.

Marriage among them is generally adult but infant Marriage. marriage may take place. A woman should not die unmarried. It is not imperative that the husband should be older than the wife. If an unmarried woman becomes pregnant by a man within the caste, she will be given to him in marriage. Both the woman's father and the man have to pay a fine which is utilized for feeding the castemen. They have no traces of the practice of capturing wives of the other tribes.

Polygamy is recognised, but polyandry is unknown. It is said that a woman may be married to one younger in years, but her husband's father or other relatives cannot supply his place till he grows up.

A man can marry the daughters of his maternal uncle Marriage relations. or of his elder sister, but cannot marry either his mother's sister or her daughter, (i.e., the daughter of his mother's sister). Thus all relations as mother, sister or daughter are not taken in marriage. Exchange of daughters is permitted, but not encouraged from the belief that one of them fails to prosper. From a similar belief, two sisters are not taken in marriage simultaneously, but may be taken at different times. Being of the same social status they have no prohibition on intermarriage based on differences of local position, occupation or religious belief.

Boys are generally married when they are between Marriage ceremonies. twenty and twenty-five years of age. Marriages are



settled by their parents or elders. On a good day the boy's father accompanied with some married women goes to the house of the intended bride, where a new decorated pot filled with rice flour is presented by the women to the mother of the bride. A portion of the *tera* money is paid over to the bride's father who hands it over to her maternal uncle. *Tambulas* are exchanged between the parties and also distributed to the castemen assembled in honour of the occasion. These are very punctilious in observing signs and omens. They tie a thread dipped in turmeric to the end of a shrubby creeper (ಅರಗಿಮರ) and if on the next morning any further growth is noticed in the plant, the match is considered lucky. Sometimes a lamp is lighted and kept burning during the night. If it happens to go out before morning, or if the chief parties have any unpleasant dream, it is a bad sign. Similarly they observe what meets them on their return from the bride's house. If their path is crossed by married women or by a Mahomedan or any one carrying betel leaves, it is a good sign. It is unlucky to meet a serpent, a deer, a rabbit or a Brahmin. The match is broken if the signs are unpropitious, and the *tera* will be returned. But those who break an otherwise valid agreement will be put out of caste.

The marriage takes place in the house of the bridegroom and continues for five days. In some places marriage booths are erected with twelve posts and ariveni or sacred pots are worshipped therein. The ceremony of marriage being simple, it can take place on any convenient day. The bride and the bridegroom are seated on a plank in front of the village temple and the pujari sprinkles the milk of the sacred sheep (Jennige Kuri, ಜೆನ್ನಿಗುರಿ) on them and ties a string of black beads known as *mangalya* round the bride's neck and puts on a chaplet of (ಕಣಿಲು) flowers to the bridegroom's head. The father of the bridegroom pays the balance of *tera* amount. The bride then puts on a brass\* and a silver bangle on her arms and toe rings on her feet, presented by her husband.

They never invite a Brahmin during the marriage, and the reason given is that on one occasion he pronounced the hour fixed for the marriage to be inauspicious and put them to the inconvenience of delaying the ceremony.

Curiously they seem to attach more importance to the first agreement for marriage than to the actual ceremony.

\* The brass bangle is known as *Gollakadaga* (ಗೋಲಕಡಗ) and worn on the left wrist, is a distinctive badge of the women of this caste.

For the latter any day will do, while for entering into the contract, they are scrupulous in selecting an auspicious time.

The marriage ceremony is looked upon as impure and has to take place only outside the hamlet, lest the huts there should be polluted. Those who attend the marriage cannot enter their house without bathing in a tank. The married couple have to bathe and put on newly-washed clothes supplied by a washerman; and indeed a marriage has to be put off if no washerman is available to supply washed clothes.

The amount paid as *tera* is Rs. 14 for a first marriage. A man who marries a second time has to pay Rs. 20 and to give the bride one of the jewels that had been worn by his previous wife.

A girl attains her age at about the sixteenth year. Puberty. In her first menses, she has to remain in pollution for a period of twenty-one days in a hut of green leaves erected far off from the living huts. Every day she has to bathe, change her clothes and move to a new hut, the old one being burnt down. The period being long and erecting sheds daily with fresh materials rather expensive, it is sometimes reduced to seven or ten days, or each hut is occupied for a longer period. Some female relatives keep company with her at a distance in the night. She is given specially sweet and nourishing food. Her bed consists of margosa leaves and straw thinly spread over them. At the end of the period all the materials used by her are burnt, excepting the clothes and vessels which are washed before being taken into the house. After returning from the bath she drinks a spoonful of the five products of the cow, (known as *Panchagavya*\*) dung, urine, butter, curds and milk, and chews a few margosa leaves. During the subsequent periods of monthly sickness, she remains outside for three or five days. A man becomes impure if the shadow of such a woman falls on him or he touches anything that comes in contact with her without purification.

Three months after the first menstruation, a woman can take bed with her husband. On the occasion of her first going to her husband's house, her mother presents her with a new cloth, some quantity of rice and turmeric roots.

Widows are not permitted to remarry. They indeed believe that a woman on losing her husband becomes the bride of their tutelary deity and so she keeps on her bangles and *tali* just like other married women. Widow re-marriage.

---

\* See page 23, account of the Komate caste.

**Divorce.** A woman is divorced for her adultery proved before a caste council at which her parents should be present. Such women are not allowed to remarry, and are in fact put out of caste. Their very sight is avoided as inauspicious by men and women of the caste.

**Adultery.** Adultery is looked upon with abhorrence though when it is carried on within the caste, it might be secretly condoned.

**Death and funeral ceremonies.** As houses in which persons die become unfit for habitation from pollution, the signs of death of a person are watched, and he is brought out to breathe his last. The dead body is washed after the head is anointed, and it is seated and wrapped up with a new unbleached cloth. A copper or silver coin is placed in the mouth, and the corpse is laid on a bamboo frame and carried to the burial ground. The principal mourner goes round the corpse three times with a vessel filled with water and throws it down in front of the corpse. Then the corpse is buried with the head turned towards the south. Persons who die of accidents and lepers are cremated. The ashes and the unburnt portions of the body are thrown in the jungle or in water on the third day.

Those who touch or carry the corpse remain impure for three days. As they return from the burial ground they wash their shoulders with cow's urine, bathe and live outside the hamlet. Even the closest relative if he has had no contact with the dead body need not observe *sūtaka*. After three days they bathe in a tank and drink the milk of the sacred sheep given by the *pujari* before re-entering their dwelling.

On the first day they offer to the spirit of the dead in front of the house a quantity of rice mixed with curds. If crows do not eat them, the offerings are given to cows. On the fourth day a sum of 6 *hanas* is paid to the temple *pujari*, who once in ten or twelve years uses all the money so collected for feeding the caste in order to propitiate the deceased ancestors.

In the name of the deceased a stone about a cubit in height is set up in a spot close to the hamlet. During the Mahalaya the relatives of the deceased place over a plantain leaf a *yede* of rice, ghee and jaggory and a new cloth before it. For three days after death in the family they eschew milk, sugar and ghee.

If a pregnant woman dies in a house when her husband is away from home, the corpse is cremated and the house is pulled down and re-erected in a separate place. The husband should not enter the village for three months.

If a woman dies within the period of birth-impurity, the man who carries the body for burial remains impure for three months and re-enters the village after drinking the milk of *jennige kuri* (sacred sheep) and washing himself with cows urine.

Their original occupation seems to have been confined to sheep and cattle breeding and it continues to be their chief occupation even now. They are backward in agriculture and grow only such crops as are needed for their own use and can be easily raised. They do not shear sheep like the Kurubas. A Golla without cattle would be a misnomer and this association is so well recognised that he is chosen by all Vokkaligas by preference to officiate as the pujari of the cattle Goddess, Katamma (ಕಾಡಮ್ಮ) at the Sankranthi festival. Occupation.

They do not hunt big game or catch fish.

Their staple food is ragi and they are allowed to eat flesh. Fish, fowl, hares, sheep and rabbits may be eaten. It is however considered pious to eschew all animal food, and when they do partake of it, they never cook it in their houses, but resort to a tank or water course outside, and carefully cleanse and purify all the utensils used in the process. Dietary.

They avoid smoking and drinking.

It is even stated that they cannot eat food given by Brahmins on account of the latter being less strict in avoiding contact with women during menses. Uppars seem to be the lowest caste with whom they associate in eating. Social status.

Brahmins do not of course touch them while in *Madi*, but they use the buttermilk given by Gollas. These may also enter all but the innermost parts of temples. The village barbers and washermen serve them freely; and Holeyas and Madigas stand at a distance and may not enter their houses. They consider the common well contaminated by promiscuous use and generally have one of their own. They seem to stand in the relation of patrons to Bedas, who are said to be their *Halemakkalu*. In parts of Chitaldurg, there is a curious custom which prevents the wife of

the eldest son in a family from washing herself after answering calls of nature, as it is believed that their flocks would suffer if she took this sanitary precaution.

Tribal constitution.

In each *hatti* or hamlet they have a *yajman* who wields extensive powers. He settles all their secular disputes and they rarely resort to courts. He is the *Pujari* and conducts worship in their temples on Tuesdays and Thursdays ; and the oracles of the deity are manifested through him. He cures snake-bites and cattle diseases by medicines and charms ; and whenever there is an epidemic or other serious calamity, he exhibits his practical good sense by ordering the removal of the settlement *en block* to a new site.

In his caste functions, he is assisted by a *Kolkar* of his own caste and a *Halemaga* of the *Beda* caste.

Their tribal councils are held in places known as *katteman* \* where questions affecting the whole tribe, such as breaches of caste rules are enquired into and settled. Such councils consist of *Yajmans* of various *hattis* and the friends of the culprits. Sometimes the council exercise appellate jurisdiction over the decision of smaller councils.

Parties testifying before their tribal council swear by *Junjappa* or by the Sacred Sheep ; and they believe that if they perjure themselves after the last invocation, they would be afflicted with blindness. Persons accused of adultery were sometimes subjected to ordeal by fire, being required to hold a red hot bar of iron in the hand, their innocence being established if they were not scalded. But with increasing infidelity, this has become obsolete.

Punishments.

If a person eats forbidden food, he will be required to pay a fine of 24 *hanas* and will have to purify himself by shaving his face clean and having his tongue slightly branded. If a woman does this act, she will be put out of caste. For a general assault a fine of thirteen annas is imposed.

Dwellings.

Their villages are hedged with prickly pears or thorns of *Jali* (५०) or with milk bushes. They were probably once nomadic but are now settled in villages of their own, though they change to new spots once in every four or five years or whenever cattle die in large numbers or some pollution is suspected to have affected the village. Their houses are thatched and are only supported by pillars.

\* *Kattemanas* are held at *Kari-Obenhalli* in *Hiriyur Taluk*, *Ram-enhalli* in *Chitaldrug Taluk*, *Kalyanadurg* and *Hagalwadi* in *Gubbi Taluk*, and *Magadi*.

Mud walls can sometimes be employed to support the thatch but the use of pillars ensures prosperity. They do not use doors for their houses but close the passage with thorns. On no account should they live in mud-roofed houses. The shape of the roof may be gabled or rounded but that of the temple house is always rounded. The roof may consist of a thatch of hay or leaves but a temple is always constructed with plantain leaves. Each village is generally composed of a number of families of the same exogamous group.

Their chief place in this State is Hagalwadi in Gubbi Taluk, where their Hero God is believed to be still present.

The Dress of males consists of a waist cloth (పట్టు), a turban and an upper cloth which may be either a blanket or of thick cotton stuff. Their women dress themselves generally with a white cloth bordered with red fringe either of lines or flowers or with a coloured *siré*. They do not use petty coats (*raviké*, రవికే) and ascribe the omission to Krishna's act of tearing off this part of their dress in his sports with Gopi Maidens. Dress.

The cloths used in marriage by the bride and bridegroom must be made by weavers of the Holey caste, but they have no such *svadesi* scruples with respect to articles of ordinary wear.

The male members wear gold earrings shaped as a cobra and use silver wristbands. Women before marriage put on silver wristlets but after they are married they substitute a *gollakadaga* on the left wrist. They dress their hair into a knot and adorn it with a silver crest or flowers. They do not wear *kumkuma* but widows sometimes put on *vibhúti*. Ornaments.

They still resort to flint stone for making fire. They have flutes of bamboo generally about two feet in length, and are expert in playing on them. Imple-ments.

After the harvest season, they organise parties from a number of villages and hunt hares and rabbits. They carry the game suspended on sticks and come back with music in great glee. Boys and girls play with short sticks *kóláta* (కలతా). Elderly people especially in *játré* (tribal festivities) take part in *kóláta* accompanied with vocal music. The flute is their characteristic musical instrument and every Golla plays upon it especially while tending cattle. Amuse-ments.

They worship Vishnu under the names of Krishna, Venkatramana, Rama, Ranga and Vishnu. Their Religion.

tribal deities are Junjappa who is much respected and Chikkannaswami, Kyáté dévaru, Chitra-dévaru and Bûtappa.

Junjappa (ಜಂಜಪ್ಪ) their chief deity is a glorified cowherd, and is taken by them to be a later incarnation of Sri Krishna. Just like the hero of Bhāgavata, he had also to fight against the jealousy and the wicked machinations of his maternal uncles. He is said to have been born by breaking through the back of his mother, a method which is popularly believed to be still seen in scorpions. Once his uncles planned to infect his cattle by burying a live bull calf infected with rinderpest in a tank to which Junjappa's cattle were going to drink. The cattle approached the tank sniffing the air and would not drink. He suspected some foul play and calling out his favourite bright eyed cow which answered to the name of Chikka-Rambha, directed her to find out what the matter was with the water. She dived under the water and succeeded in lifting on its horns the calf still alive from the mire. It was tended with care and cured of its disease, and it repaid its new benefactor with docile submission and unswerving faithfulness. It was named Beṭṭanna, (ಬೆಟ್ಟಣ್ಣ) and became strong and spirited when it grew up. It once killed seven bulls out of a herd owned by the uncles, and came back bringing seven of the best cows. When in revenge they harried the flocks of Junjappa's brothers and carried away this Beṭṭanna and bound it with chains to a boulder, he had only to mount to a hill top and call his favourite by name, when with a shake of his body he snapped the chains as if they were made of straw and ran to his side.

Once he met an amazon by name Jánakal Doddi watching her field and amusing herself on a seesaw. He asked her to allow him to collect some beans for his food in her field. She treated him with scorn saying, "neither Jan-gama nor Dásari has yet succeeded in getting a handful from me; would I give a cowherd beggar like you a grain of it?" His anger was so great that the field blazed into a flame all round him when he opened his eyes wide. But she was more than a match to him; and even serpents whose aid he sought to destroy her, were afraid, till a poor lonely serpent was coaxed to give his assistance by promises of being worshipped in stone after her death. This found its way into her clothes and bit and killed her. Her husband was powerless against Junjappa, and at last his enemies tried to kill him by poison which they treacherously administered at a feast to which he was invited by a

stratagem. He discovered it by giving it first to a dog to eat, but ate the food notwithstanding lest his enemies should accuse him of cowardice. Immediately flames of fire darted out of his body, and he was in a few minutes reduced to ashes, along with a huge hay stack by his side. When his soul was transported to the presence of Siva, the God asked him to show what he could do to deserve a boon. He dived into the bowels of the earth and brought out all the snakes and scorpions in huge masses out of their hiding places. Siva offered boons which the unrepentant man only utilised for taking his revenge against his uncles, whom he assailed with famine and pestilence, and whose place he reduced to a desert. It is still to be seen near Hágálvádi, and is known by the name of the ruins of the Kambi family.

In his name a *Játre* or tribal festival is held in Hágálvádi once in two or three years, or if they can afford the expense, annually, at which all their castemen gather including some of the higher castes who only show reverence by presenting cocoanuts to the deity. Sheep and goats are not killed at this feast though its devotees may prepare flesh food for themselves. Junjappa is now represented by a box of split bamboo containing his relics *viz.*, a weapon he was using, an umbrella and clothes, and some silver or golden serpents, snakes, crabs and other vermin.

The festival is held outside the village site in a jungle known as Junjappa's waste (ಜಂಜಪ್ಪನ ಬೀಡು) under a pandal temporarily built there with cocoanut, arecanut or plantain leaves. In one portion of the area under the pandal the box representing Junjappa is installed and round it other boxes made of similar materials are arranged in the form of a square. The pujári conducts the púja with turmeric powder and flowers, breaks cocoanuts in front of the deity and burns camphor and incense.

The *Játre* continues for three days and there are many diversions provided for the assembly. Boys and elders play *kôláta* with short sticks. After the *Játre* the pandal is burnt to ashes.

They take advantage of these gatherings to hold their caste councils for the settlement of disputes and the imposition of penalties against breaches of caste rules and customs.

There is a temple near Bangalore at which Junjappa is worshipped under the name of Chikkannaswámi (ಚಿಕ್ಕಣ್ಣ ಸ್ವಾಮಿ). It is constructed with leaves or straw. The temple has a property of about fifteen thousand rupees consisting



of gold or silver snakes, scorpions and jewels presented by devotees. A sacred bull known as *Pattadabasara* (ಪಟ್ಟದ ಬಸವ) is dedicated to the temple and is privileged to graze in a field undisturbed by any man of the Golla caste. During the Játre the bull is decorated with some jewels belonging to the temple. The box representing the deity is carried by the bull to the tank or any watercourse where it is washed and purified by a Brahmin.

It is said that even some Brahmins have become devotees of this deity, having been cured of devil possession in the shrine. Such families do not allow women in monthly sickness to enter their house, and if accidentally they do so, a penalty is paid to this shrine. Unless they do this, they believe they will be afflicted with boils or bitten by snakes or stung by scorpions.

In some parts of the Chitaldrug District, Kyatédévaru (ಕೃತೇದೇವರು) is worshipped and an annual Játaré on a small scale is held in its honour. The deity is installed in a car made entirely with thorus and mounted on four wheels and is drawn in procession round the temple, and at the close of one circuit, the flag at the top is brought down.

In the month of Chaitra (ಚೈತ್ರ) which generally comes off in May, a Játaré in honour of Bútappa (ಬುತಪ್ಪ) is held, at which only the people of the Golla caste attend to show their reverence. This deity has no special temple, and his figure engraved in a stone is set up underneath a shady tree. The worship is conducted by a pujári of their caste. Ten or twelve sheep and goats are killed and afterwards used for the feeding of the caste people.

---

## A P P E N D I X

—o—

## I. Chittamutturu.

1. *Karadiyavaru*—(ಕರಡಿಯವರು) Bear.2. *Kamberu*—(ಕಂಬೇರು) Pot.

## II. Chandinavaru (ಚಂದಿನವರು) Moon.

3. *Somanavaru* (ಸೋಮನವರು) Moon.4. *Ajjuoru*—(ಅಜ್ಜೀರು)5. *Konanavaru*—(ಕೋಣನವರು) He-buffaloe.6. *Yagadinavaru*—(ಯಗಡಿನವರು)7. *Polanavaru*—(ಪೋಲನವರು)*Arsikalliyavaru*—(ಅರಸಿಕ್ಕಾಯವರು) Milk-hedge

## III. Ramégowḍanakuladavaru—(ರಾಮೇಗೌಡನಕುಲದವರು)

8. *Areraya*—(ಅರೇರಾಯ) Name of a person.*Arenavaru* - (ಆರೇನವರು) A plant.9. *Merenavaru*—(ಮೇರೇನವರು) Flail.10. *Onakeyavaru*—(ಒನಕ್ಕೇಯವರು) A pestle.11. *Chiranavaru*—(ಚಿರನವರು)12. *Masinavaru*—(ಮಾಸಿನವರು) Name of a deity.13. *Huruliyavaru*—(ಹುರುಳಿಯವರು) Gram.14. *Belloru*—(ಬೆಳ್ಳೋರು) A hoe.15. *Belluravaru*—(ಬೆಳ್ಳೂರವರು) Name of a place.16. *Nandihalliyavaru*—(ನಂದಿಹಳ್ಳಿಯವರು) Do.

— — — — —

